An Analysis of

Present Day Social Structure

in the

Trobriand Islands.

PH.D. 1957

H. A. Powell.

16th September 1976

The author wishes to inform readers that the theoretical framework within which the material is presented no longer represents his interpretation. An initial outline of this is to be found in 2 articles in MAN (N.S.) Vol IV. Nos 2 & 4, 1969.

Missing pages are unavailable

A B S T R A C T O F T H E S I S

Approved Title: An Analysis of Present Day Social Structure in the Trobriand Islands.

Degree: Ph.D. in the University of London.

Candidate: H. A. Powell.

The Thesis attempts to analyse and define the Trobriand system of kinship and rank as the structural basis of social organisation amongst the population of the northern half of Kiriwina Island. It is envisaged as supplementary to Malinowski's published data, which are freely used in the analysis in conjunction with original material.

Beginning with a general survey of ecological and demographic factors, the focus of analysis narrows to an examination in terms of kinship and marriage of the social relations of the population of a cluster of five villages (Chapter I). The relationships of the members of a single local descent group and village are then examined intensively, and attention is finally focussed on a single marriage. From this analysis emerge problems which suggest the desirability of a theoretical interpretation of Trobriand kinship and marriage relations different from that developed by Malinowski (Chapter II).

An attempt is then made to formulate a set of concepts and a methodological approach that will resolve these problems with reference to the Trobriand material (Chapter III). Certain concepts are developed, not as general theories of kinship or social structure, but only as specific hypotheses valid for the analysis of the Trobriand material, although it is hoped that further research may reveal that the methodology

has some general utility.

The conceptual approach thus developed is then applied to the analysis of the Trobriand system of kinship and rank relations and specifically to the terminology of kinship (Chapter IV). Finally the significance of the system thus analysed as the structural basis of Trobriand social organisation is examined, first in the context of elementary family relationships and marriage, and working outwards to the social interaction of the Trobriand population in general, against the background of the ecological and demographic factors examined in the opening stages of the Thesis (Chapter V).

TROBRIAND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Ph.D. Thesis - H. A. Powell.

Errata

Page xi. Paragraph 2, line 10 - should read "the 3rd (1932) edition of Sexual Life ...."

" 52. Para. 2, ll. 3-4 - line omitted - should read "... of the village of their own subclans, while the remaining 50% reside in villages and clusters in which ..."

" 147. Para. 2, l. 6 - delete "and".

" 160. Para. 1, l. 13 - after "social unit" insert "concerned with the regulation of the reproductive processes"

" 194. A page from an earlier version appears to have been inadvertently included in the final draft. Lines 3-6 should read - "structure which are distinguished in reference to the relations of the unit with other like units. Two of these modes or elements are passive, that is indirectly involved, in these relations, and two are active, that is directly involved, ..."
line 16 - for "passive" read "quiescent", and for "not longer" read "no longer",

" 195. l. 9 - Delete "in formal relationships"

" 207. Para. 2, ll. 2-3 - should read "... by the application of the conceptual unit of structure to ..."

" 282. Usage 11, affinal Tuwa and Bwada - in the definition of the personal significance of the terms (1st para.), for "(luta)" read "(tuwa and bwada)" in both cases.

" 285. Incest Taboos and Suvasova - line omitted - insert between lines 7 and 8 of para. - "thus of the same "sex" as each others "siblings of same sex", so that ..."

" 288. Inheritance of Wives - line omitted - 1st para., line 8 - should read "... (bwada) (30). But the death of either spouse ends the affinal relations established by the marriage (cf. Section 5). Discussion ..."

" 295. Usage 13 - Affinal Ina and Kada - line 3 - should read "... wives of his senior subclan kada (mothers' brothers) .."

" 299. Affinal Ina as Mother's Brother's Wife - line 1 should read "... ina of the senior kada's (mother's brother's) wife .."

Page 303. Para. 1, ll. 2-5 - the structural explanation of the yawa usage should be rephrased to read -

"Structurally the relation between the statuses of yawa (spouse's ina, tama or kada, and latu's or kada's spouse) is analogous to that between an active mode of one unit of communication and either the latent mode of another unit through the latent mode of the first unit (if ego is parent or mother's brother) or the quiescent mode of another unit through either active mode of the second unit (if ego is the spouse)."

" 307. Para. 2, last line - for "subclan" read "clan"

" 323. Para. 2, line 5 - for "they" read "the"

" 334. Para. 2, ll. 8-9 - for "the next Chapter" read "Section 6"

" 410. Para. 2, l. 2 - for "reciprocicities" read "reciprocities"

" 419. Last line but one - for "preceded To'uluwa" read "preceded Litakata"

" 459. Para. 2, l. 6 - should read ".. parties concerned as members .."

" 461. Para. 2, l. 13 - for "of expiation" read "or expiation"

" 514. Para. 2, ll. 7-8 - for "rights which were" read "rights were"

" 528. Para. 2, l. 1 - for "kinship relates" read "kinship relations"

" 550. Line 3 - for "quining" read "quinine"

" 552. Line 12 - for "understand; 30 men .." read "understand. When 30 men ..."

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Introduction.

This Thesis derives from field research undertaken between May 3rd 1950 and May 2nd 1951 in the Trobriand Islands, on a Horniman Studentship and a supplementary Grant from the Australian National University, for which I must express my thanks to the Horniman Trustees, Professor Raymond Firth and Professor S. F. Nadel, as well as for their general helpfulness and patience in connection with the field project. For personal help and advice before, during and after the field trip I am also particularly indebted to Professor Darryl Forde, Dr. P.M. Kaberry and Dr. H.I. Hogbin. In the Trobriands I received assistance and hospitality from all the European residents from time to time, but particularly from Mrs. Lumley and her family at Gusaweta and the Fathers of the Catholic Mission; and from the people of Omarakana village cluster I received courtesy and patience in my enquiries as well. To all of these I am indebted.

I made my base initially in the Omarakana Government Rest House at Tilakaiwa in Omarakana village cluster, in order to start work in the area best known to me from Malinowski's works. In the event I remained there all the time, except for the first three weeks when I was awaiting the arrival of field equipment from Samarai by sea, having flown in myself, and for eight weeks during July and August 1950. This period I spent through Mrs. Lumley's hospitality in her household, having gone there initially because of illness, from which I recovered after three weeks, but was thereafter delayed from returning to the Omarakana Rest House by the imposition of a partial quarantine because of an outbreak of poliomyelitis in the Islands. During this seven weeks I visited Omarakana

cluster by autocycle most days though I could not stay there, and thus kept in touch with events after the main harvest although I missed the harvesting itself. I tried to do some work in the lagoon villages also during this period, but was not able to do so systematically. What I learnt then, however, together with information I obtained during a three day voyage to Simsim, Kawa and Tuma Islands in January 1951 with Ralph Lumley, indicates that there are at present at least significant differences in the social situation in these regions as against northeastern Kiriwina Island, so that the following data and analysis must be held to apply in full only to the latter region. I had hoped to do some comparative research in other areas of the Islands, but became too involved in the affairs of the Omarakana cluster, and in the end stayed on there in the hope of sailing with the Kula fleet to Kitava. However adverse weather delayed sailing too long for me to go, although I had participated in all preparations for the expedition. I had finally to return to Losuia after the Kula fleet sailed five days before I had to leave the Islands.

Aims and Method of Field Research.

The main purpose of the field project as originally conceived was to study any changes in the social situation that might have occurred since Malinowski's research was undertaken. It was appreciated that it would be necessary to try to fill in certain gaps in his accounts as a part of this enquiry, however. I found in fact little apparent change in the Omarakana district from conditions described by Malinowski, and I found his ethnography entirely reliable, with the exception of some details, in the matters he dealt with. It was however increasingly borne in upon me that his accounts

did not deal fully with the structural aspect of social relations, in particular with the structural significance of kinship. That is, his accounts describe very well and are still valid in regard to the domestic and personal aspect of kinship relations in northern Kiriwina; but the very completeness of his investigation of this aspect of village life made me, reading his works in Kiriwina, increasingly aware of the other aspect; that is the way in which Most if not all the important social relations and activities of the Kiriwinans were formulated in terms of and regulated in reference to kinship and rank relations. I therefore set out to investigate it, and was able to do so the more thoroughly in as much as I could as it were take up the investigations where Malinowski had left off in the light of my own training in Anthropology. This I have tried to do, and the present work is offered as a supplement to, not as a correction of, the accounts of Trobriand culture presented in his written works, although it will be seen that I disagree with his interpretations of some of the data.

Aims and Method of the Thesis.

The most obvious deficiency in Malinowski's accounts is in the picture that emerges of the kinship system, as against personal relationships between kinsmen and neighbours in daily life. The present aim is, in filling in this gap, to define and analyse Trobriand social structure and organisation in terms of this systematic aspect of kinship and rank relations, which I have interpreted as the basis of regularity, continuity and predictability in all aspects of the social relations and interaction of the Trobriand population as conditioned by their ecological and demographic environment. In pursuit of this I have formulated a specific conceptual approach to the

analysis of Trobriand kinship and rank; its formulation in the present work is a means to an end, though in some ways the most important part of the analysis, and it is not offered in its present form at least as a general theory of kinship and social structure.

I have not therefore attempted systematically to examine and evaluate this approach in comparison with current theories or in application to other data, though I have used selected concepts from others' works and made very general comparisons to other kinds of material in seeking to clarify the concepts developed for the present limited purpose. Nevertheless the influence of the views of most of the writers whose works I have read underlies and will in one way or another be apparent even where I have made no specific reference to them in the present work, and I wish here to acknowledge with gratitude my debt to them no less than to those to whose works I have referred specifically. Above all of course I am indebted to Malinowski, not only for the help I received from his monographs in field research but also because by exploring the psychobiological aspect of and theoretical approach to kinship relations so thoroughly he revealed and emphasised problems and inconsistencies which both forced and enabled me to concentrate on the other, systematic, aspect, both in the field and in subsequent analysis of the material. The present analysis and Malinowski's theories of satisfaction of needs, especially psychobiological, as presented in his <u>A Scientific Theory of Culture</u> and elsewhere, may be linked at the level of adjustment to what I have called the ecological and demographic environment. That is the system of kinship and rank as analysed here may be held to represent an adjustment in social relations and interaction to the

conditions established by the ecological and demographic factors in the satisfaction of needs in Malinowski's sense; but this is a matter beyond the scope of the analysis attempted here. My views in this connection have, it will be apparent, been much affected by those of Fortes (1), especially as regards the relation of scale and complexity of social relations to the significance of unilineal descent groups in social structure. Indeed, although I have not applied his arguments here, the point of departure in formulating the present concept of structure was in a sense an attempt to see Trobriand Kinship "from outside", as a total system, Malinowski having explored it as it were from within, i.e. from the viewpoint of the participants in kinship relations.

For the present purpose I am only concerned with Malinowski's general theoretical views in so far as the use he makes of them in presenting the Trobriand material bears upon my own analysis. Thus I sought to follow a "functional method" in field research, but am not concerned with the "functional theory" as such as formulated by him, first in the article on "Anthropology" in the Encyclopædia Brittanica, 13th (1926) edition, for the present purpose. His use of the word function in the major monographs is not always consistent with the theoretical formulation, although both Sexual Life of Savages and Coral Gardens and their Magic were published after that article; it is only in the Special Foreword to the 3rd (1932) edition of Sexual Life that the "functional method" is referred to in any of the monographs, while the word "function" is listed in none of their indices. To avoid unnecessary

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(1) 1953 Passim.

confusion I have not used the word in connection with the concepts developed here, employing it in fact only rarely, with the sense of the part or significance of any distinguishable element of a social situation or system in the whole, which approximates I believe to what Nadel called the third and fourth senses of the term function (2). The terms I have used specifically in reference to the conceptual approach formulated are defined as the analysis proceeds; the key terms and concepts used are formulated at the beginning of Chapter III and restated in Chapter V Section 7. Other terms are used in generally accepted ways which should be clear from the context; I have sought to restrict terminological discussion to the minimum necessary in defining the specific uses of terms in the approach developed, but I hope any resulting omissions will not invalidate the argument.

Much of my own material duplicates Malinowski's, and I have taken advantage of this by referring to his descriptions wherever possible while of course adducing additional material of my own wherever relevant. Since the same material and interpretations are presented in more than one of his works, however, I have felt it unnecessary to give all references to a given topic on every occasion, but have rather tried to give the references to the most complete or recent of Malinowski's presentations or discussion, or those in which he treats the topic from the same viewpoint as that from which I am concerned with it in any given passage. Data on contacts with Europeans are presented here only from the viewpoint of establishing the validity of the analysis of the kinship and rank system in the present situation in the

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(2) Nadel 1951 p. 369. I have been much influenced by his insistence on logic in analysis, but feel his definitions tend to be over-complex.

Trobriands; I consider the present analysis prerequisite to a full examination of the processes and events in the contact situation which I hope to attempt later. Similarly I hope on the basis of this analysis to deal in future work with specific aspects of Trobriand social organisation and culture, e.g. symbolism in ceremonial activities and possibly myth.

Bibliography and Appendix.

In accordance with the aims and method of the Thesis as already outlined I have limited the bibliography of works other than specifically on the Trobriands to those referred to in the text, but have included relevant works on the Trobriands in addition to those referred to, excepting translations of Malinowski's monographs into foreign languages and the like.

All Tables, Diagrams, Maps and Genealogies are in the Appendix, inside the back cover, and are loose in order to facilitate consultation with the text; most are referred to more than once, while some are discussed on several pages. Finally I have included no photographs in the Thesis, since those in Malinowski's works represent the *facies* of Trobriand life in 1950-51 as well as they did when they were taken, while if it should be felt that further visual documentation would be helpful in connection with the analysis a film shot in the field could be offered as evidence of some aspects of the dynamics of Trobriand social organisation.

Chapter I

Ecology and Demography

Part 1. Geographical Factors and Population Density

The general topography and natural features of the Trobriand Islands have already been admirably described by Malinowski (1). It is proposed here therefore only to stress certain factors relevant to the understanding of the pattern of settlement and economic organisation.

Section 1. Climate and Geography.

The Trobriand Group of Islands are situated on the 151st degree of East Longitude and between the 8th and 9th parallels of South Latitude (Map 1, Appendix). The climate is characterised by two main seasons; that of the South-easterly Tradewinds (Bwailima) and that of the Northwesterlies (Bomatu). The former lasts from about the end of April to the end of October; the latter from about the beginning of December to the end of March or mid-April. There are periods of calms and variable winds between the two main seasons (2), but the onset and duration of these are very variable from year to year, and in some years (e.g. 1950) even the Southeasterly Tradewind, which is normally steady and reliable, never really establishes itself.

Ecologically the most important difference between the main seasons is in rainfall. This is on average fairly heavy throughout the year. Where figures are given in the Annual Reports for Papua, 1900-1951, the average monthly rainfall seems to be about 11.5 - 12 inches in a normal year, with peaks of about 15inches in July and 14 - 15 inches in

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(1) Esp. 1922, Caps. I & II; 1935, I, Part I, Secs. 1 - 3.

(2) Cf. Malinowski, 1922, pp. 225-226; 1935, I, Fig. 3 pp. 50-51.

January - March. But no figures are given for "famine" years; i.e. years in which the Assistant Resident Magistrate recorded failures of the main yam crops which necessitated the planting of European-introduced "emergency" swift maturing crops, e.g. sweet potatoes or maize. Such "famines" are recorded in 1900 - 01, when there was drought throughout S. Eastern New Guinea; in 1902 - 03; 1910 - 11; 1912 - 13; 1914 - 15; 1921 - 22; 1925 - 26; and 1932 - 33. The third and the last of these appear to have been due not to drought but to excessive rain during planting and harvesting (conditions which affected the main harvest of 1950 also), which rotted the crops in the ground; the second was the result of very late planting especially in Sinaketa district. Information is lacking after 1933; from 1934 onwards the Reports do not deal specifically with the Trobriands as an administrative subdistrict (3).

In fact, although total precipitation is fairly constant on a monthly average, its distribution over the Islands is by no means uniform, except during the Northwesterly season. During the Southeasterly season, which covers the maturing of the main yam gardens, rainfall tends to be highly spasmodic and local. Typical tradewind squalls drench strips of land on their passage from southeast to northwest across the Islands so that in half an hour village and garden sites may be a foot under water; but this may be on a front of as little as a few hundred yards, the land on either side of the squall's track remaining quite dry in the bright sun. Thus although

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(3) V. Map 1, Appendix. The term "The Trobriand Islands" refers here to the Islands included in the pre-1942 Administrative subdistrict as shown in the map, plus Kitava Island.

it is rare for rain to fall nowhere in the Islands for more than a few days, it is by no means unusual for particular localities to remain without rain for longer periods. If towards harvest time a yam garden goes without rain for a week, leaves on the vines begin to turn yellow; after about ten days the tendrils of growing plants begin to wither, and growth may be retarded; after a fortnight without rain the crop will be more or less severely affected, for the subsoil will have dried out, while the underlying geological formations are highly permeable to water.

Geologically the Trobriand and neighbouring Islands are relatively lowlying coralline formations, the largest of which (Kiriwina Island, Map 2) is 25 miles long from North to South, and varies in width from less than half a mile at its narrowest to about seven miles at its widest points. The cultivable soil, which consists of broken down coralline debris and humus, is everywhere more or less coarse and contains fragments of coral which vary in size from grains to lumps too big to be moved without mechanical aid. The soil is nowhere deeper than about three feet in the garden lands, and its average depth is probably about eighteen inches, though pockets occur, especially in areas of coral outcrops such as the ridge which lies along the greater part of the East Shore, of much greater depth. These result from accumulation in faults in the underlying limestone and coralline formations of fragments and humus, and such faults are found occasionally in garden land, but are most apparent in the outcrops and ridges where the rock is tunnelled and caverned with them. The rock itself is permeable also, and water rarely lies on the land surface except for short periods after heavy rain. Except in swampy areas and in creeks

and inlets of the sea, which are mostly tidal, there are no permanent surface streams; and rain which floods a village square, which is beaten hard and relatively impermeable, will disappear in an hour or so.

The average height of the land above sea level is about fifty feet, perhaps less. Water is always to be found at or somewhat above sea level; for as rainwater drains away easily, so seawater percolates into the underlying formations. Water tends also to accumulate in underground pools in the outcrops of coral, though the size of such pools tends to vary with the rainfall. But it seems that, except in lands marginal to swamps, the roots of garden crops cannot reach down into the permanent water level, while the soil and subsoil dry out relatively quickly. Thus the staple yam crops are affected by quite short spells of drought. Taro gardens, away from swamp or other permanent water sources, are affected even more quickly; but since taro will grow in swampy conditions not suitable to the yams grown on Kiriwina, it provides a useful standby crop in conditions adverse to the growth of yams. In Sinaketa, where taro replaces the yam as the staple crop, at least to some extent, the risk of food shortage from drought may be less (4); but in Northern Kiriwina Island at least, and in some of the outlying Islands, it appears that hardly a season goes by without one or another village being affected in this way - not usually to the point of actual privation, but to that of having an inadequate supply of yams without outside assistance to meet ceremonial requirements particularly, sometimes also domestic needs. On eight recorded occasions

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(4) Cf. Malinowski, 1935 I, pp. 295 ff.

in 50 years, however, the whole of the Islands have been threatened by what, but for the availability of outside resources, might have been famine. On the other hand, excessive rain may, by rotting the growing or stored yams, if they cannot be properly dried at harvest, produce similar results as inadequate rainfall. Tokulubakiki of Omarakana, through Malinowski (5), has recorded the consequences of famine for the Trobrianders. That traditions of such calamities are rooted in fact is borne out by the records already quoted. Today the fear remains, though less acute than it was, since other crops have been introduced and the natives feel that nowadays the Government would not allow them to starve (6). This latter consideration is less effective than it was before the Japanese war, however, when the Kiriwinans learnt that Government might withdraw again, as it did then for a while.

Water for human consumption is never entirely absent, but as the underground levels subside in drought the villagers may have to go farther and farther afield for it, to the permanent water sources of the coral outcrops and elsewhere where there is access to seepage from the sea. Such water is always more or less brackish and where close to the sea it may be undrinkable unless diluted by rain. Tradition records that some generations ago the island of Iwo in the Marshall Bennetts had to be evacuated after a severe drought because the permanent water became undrinkable. With their last cocomuts for drink the inhabitants sought

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(5) Malinowski, 1935, I, pp. 160 - 163.

(6) ibid, cf. App. II, note 43.

and obtained refuge in Kitava and Kiriwina, but returned to Iwo when the drought broke. The Kiriwinans bathe only in the pools and streams which appear after rain, or on visits to the permanent watersources or the beaches - this has not made the inculcation of habits of improved hygiene easy. Thus the Kiriwinans' concern with sun, wind and rain, apparent in their magic, is rooted in practical and immediate hazards.

Section 2. Native Population.

Sir William Macgregor, after a visit in 1891, first estimated the population of the Trobriand group as about 15,000. Leo Austen who was Assistant Resident Magistrate for the Trobriand subdistrict from about 1930 - 37, comments (7) that it is not clear to what area this estimate referred; if to the area that was designated the Trobriand district in pre-Japanese war days it was probably highly inaccurate. Austen's own estimate for this area is that the population never exceeded 10,000. In the Annual Report for 1904 - 05, the then Resident Magistrate, Southeastern District, the Hon. R. M. Moreton, says that on the basis of a "house to house visit" the population of the group, including the Lusancays but not Kitava, was 10,408. (But see p. 10). Kitava had a further 798 inhabitants. These figures are not broken down in any way. In the Annual Report for 1905 - 06 R. L. Bellamy, appointed A.R.M. Trobriands in 1905, estimates 8,300 for the population of Kiriwina Island only. In 1912 he instituted the first census to check for cases of V. D., and calculated the population of the "whole group" as 7,240 adults and

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(7) Austen, L., 1945, pp 16 - 17.

adolescents (children under about 11 years were not counted). In 1913 - 14 he estimated the total population at 8,500, with a birth rate of 38.2 and a death rate of 31.2 per thousand. 167 male and 158 female infants were born in this year, the first after Bellamy instituted the keeping of a simple register of births and deaths by Village Constables. He further estimated the totals of unmarried males and females (presumably of all ages other than babies) at 1,412 and 856 respectively - figures which will be commented upon again later.

Although from this time on increasingly detailed records seem to have been kept, they are not presented in full in any Annual Reports, and many Reports only mention totals, or comment upon apparent tendencies for the population to increase or decrease. The available figures for the pre-1942 Trobriand administrative subdistrict are presented in Table I of the Appendix. Only in two Reports are the total figures broken down by sexes. In that for 1919 - 20 a total population of 8,523 included 7,012 adults (over 14 years old), of whom 3,158 were male and 3,054 female. There were 1,511 children of both sexes; 185 males and 156 females were born, and 105 males and 113 females died. In 1950 - 51, when the first fullscale census after the Japanese War was undertaken throughout Australian New Guinea, the total of 9,134 (which included the estimated population of Kitava) broke down into 3,033 adult males and 2,567 adult females, and 1,877 male and 1,657 female children (how adults and non-adults were differentiated is not revealed).

The breakdown of the figures present in Table 1 is in many respects contradictory and inconclusive, so far as population trends are concerned.

In 1903 - 04 the Assistant Resident Magistrate estimated that birth rates were "much in excess of deaths", a few of which were the result of German measles. Reports of other epidemics occur in 1910 - 11, when 140 people, 85% of them infants or young children, were said to have died of an unspecified disease; in 1924 - 25 (dysentery and 'flu; number of deaths unspecified); and in January to September 1926, when bronchial pneumonia was said to have caused 352 deaths. There are allusions to poor health among the Natives on other occasions. In Table I, the birth rate is higher than the death rate in four of the years for which figures are available, and lower in four also; and taking the totals in other years into account excess deaths in epidemic years seem to have been compensated by lower rates in others. The reports of the earlier Assistant Resident Magistrates indicate that they regarded the population as tending to decrease; Whitehouse, who was A. R. M. from the end of the 1914 - 18 War until 1928, passes no definite judgement; Austen on the other hand (7) seems to have considered that by his time an early tendency to decrease had checked, and by the end of his tenure of office had even been reversed. Considering the period covered by the Reports as a whole, however, the figures seem to indicate that the population of the Trobriand and Lusancay groups, excluding Kitava Island, has remained fairly constant from 1900 to the present at about 8,500 inhabitants.

Many apparent discrepancies in the figures given in Table I (e.g. the increase of 258 in the total population between 1918 - 19 and 1919 - 20,

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(7) Op. cit., p. 17.

despite an excess of 15 deaths over births in the former period and of only 123 births over deaths in the latter), may be explained partly by attributing them to inaccuracy of the records kept by the native Village Constables, partly by the presence of a floating population of imported native labourers working on European plantations. Figures of this population appear only occasionally in the Reports, but there were 60 such labourers in 1910 - 11. There was a decline in European planting during the 1914 - 18 War, and it is probable that many of these labourers were either sent home or not replaced when their contracts expired; just after the war however there was a resurgence of planting in the Trobriands, for which extra labour must have been required. In 1951, according to information received from the Manager, there were between 50 and 70 imported labourers on Muwo Copra Plantation (Map 2 overlay).

The figures of 1,412 unmarried males as against 856 unmarried females reported in 1913 - 14 drew from Bellamy, the author of the Report, the comment that he had no doubt that female infanticide had been practised in the past, and that there were indications that it still continued. The figures for later years, such as they are, do not appear to bear out this view; the difference between sex ratios in 1919 - 20 and 1950 - 51 cannot be taken as statistically significant in a population as small as this. From this point of view indeed the figures as a whole, apart from the small size of the total population, are inadequate for the extraction of reliably significant conclusions, but the subject of sex ratios will be alluded to again in discussing the population of the Omarakana village cluster in the next Chapter. The main if not the only inference to be drawn from the

figures under discussion is that the total population of the islands of Kiriwina, Vakuta, Kaileuna, Munawata, Kuiao, Simsim and Kitava seems to have been fairly stable at about 8,500 until the beginning of the Japanese War.

As to the first post-war census of 1950 - 51, the figure of 9,134 included the population of Kitava Island, which as has been noted already did not lie within the pre-war Trobriand administrative Subdistrict. Moreton in the Report for 1904 - 05 gave the population of Kitava as 798, and that of the rest of the Trobriand group as 10,408, as noted already. Bellamy, however, after a year of residence in Kiriwina (Moreton only visited the Trobriand Group from District Headquarters on Woodlark Island), estimated the population of the Group excluding Kitava at 8,300 in 1905 - 06, which is much more in accord with subsequent figures. No mention is made of any epidemic or other catastrophe which might have reduced the population by 2,000 or more in the interim, and the conclusion to be drawn is that Moreton seems to have overestimated the population by about one fifth. If this applies to his figure for Kitava also, the population of that Island was probably about 650 at this time. Assuming the Kitavan population to have remained as stable as the Kiriwinan, that of the rest of the Group in 1950 - 51, when the total was 9,134, would be about 8,480, which accords well with the estimated pre-Japanese War figure.

In the Report for 1907 - 08 Bellamy gave the population of 81 villages on Kiriwina Island as 4,976, excluding children under 9 years of age. (In the Report for 1913 - 14 he stated that there were 91 "Villages and hamlets" on Kiriwina). The only figure for Kiriwina Island

itself as a whole was given by Austen (8), who stated that of a total population of 8,537 as at 31st January 1935 7,093 lived on Kiriwina itself, of whom 2,153 were children under 15 years old. Assuming this figure to be as near the average for the Island as is his total to that of 8,500 predicated above for the whole Group, the figure today would still be about 7,100. This fits quite well the figure of 5,128 given in the Annual Report for 1949-50 for the area of Kiriwina covered in the census up to June 30th 1950. This area included the central part of Northern Kiriwina, but not the villages of the northern coastal strip or those to the south of Kwabula in Luba district (Map 2).

Section 3. Population Density.

Map 2 of the Appendix is taken from a map of Kiriwina Island prepared from an aerial photographic survey conducted by the United States Army Air Forces in 1947-8 in connection with defence plans for the Western Pacific. According to this map the Island is almost exactly 25 miles long from North to South, and its width varies from something under half a mile in the neighbourhood of Oburaku and Wawela villages in southern Luba district to about 7.25 miles through Kuboma district. Its area as obtained by triangulation of the map is just over 70 square miles (about 45,000 acres). The density of the estimated 7,100 population is thus just over 100 per square mile; but its actual distribution is very uneven, as is indicated by the scatter of villages. Where these are closest to each other, between the coral ridge to the east and the swamp to the west in south Tilataula

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(8) Op. cit., p. 17.

and Kiriwina districts, the actual density may be twice the average overall figure, while elsewhere, in the swamp and coral outcrop areas, there is no resident population. According to the Map there are at least 15 square miles of swamp and coral outcrops where the land is uncultivable. That is, of the total of 45,000 acres, at least 17,280 are unusable for gardens, leaving 27,720 acres of garden land. These figures vary widely from Austen's estimates (9). He wrote "The approximate area of Kiriwina Island is 84,000 acres of which some 50,000 acres could be called arable land, although of this land a fair proportion is second and third class." In view of the difficulty of mapping even freshly cut garden sites by surface surveying methods, credence must be accorded to the U.S.A.A.F. map. No accurate surface triangulation appears to have been attempted before 1942, when the Japanese War caused the withdrawal of Administrative control, in any case. Austen went on to estimate that from his figure "at least 25 percent must be deducted for sites of villages, old and new, various sacred groves, cemeteries, plantations, roads etcetera". Although his estimates of total land area appear grossly exaggerated, this fraction is probably correct, especially as many wartime installations have further reduced the area of cultivable land available.

These installations include many large camp and other sites (cf. Map 4, areas left uncultivated in garden sites), but it is likely that the encroaching bush will in time break up the concrete foundations and surfaces of most of these areas. On the other hand, some wartime installations are

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(9) Op. cit., p. 16.

likely to be permanent. The main motor roads built from Losuia eastwards to Gusaweta and Olivilevi, and northwards through the most densely populated area to the anchorage at Kaibola (Map 2 overlay), are maintained by the Administration, as is the southern airstrip for use as an emergency landing ground. These roads total about 16 miles, and are about 20 yards wide; the area lost by them is thus about 116 acres. Some native paths are tending to be disused because of the new roads, but the area appears negligible, since the natives prefer the shade of palms and undergrowth along the old to the better surfaces of the new roads, unless the latter offer an appreciable shortening of their journeys.

Both the landing strips are about 2,000 yards long and 150 yards wide. Including their dispersal areas and hard standings they can hardly cover more than 250 acres each at the most, and since only the southern strip without dispersals is to be maintained the permanent loss of cultivable land should not be more than about 40 acres, though the other strip may take a long time to break up naturally (10). None of the native owners of the land lost in these ways appear greatly concerned over it; at least not in 1951, but by then they had hardly completed the first fallowing cycle of cultivation since the end of the last War. In all an estimate of 220 acres permanently lost as a result of the Japanese War should amply cover the situation. Thus from the total surface area of the Island the following deductions must be made in assessing the cultivable land area :-

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(10) Mair (1948, p. 221) discussing war damage, wrote that the most striking example of land wastage occurred in Kiriwina "where, in order to construct an airfield, the cultivable soil of 8,000 acres was removed ... leaving only the bare coral". She tells me in a personal communication that this figure was obtained from a Government Report to the United Nations, and that she regarded it without conviction. It is completely at variance with my own observations and information.

Total area -		45,000 acres
Areas of swamp and outcrops-	17,280	
Native paths, villages etc.-	7,000	
Permanent loss ex War-	220	
Total area to be deducted-		24,500
Remaining cultivable area		21,500 acres.

That is taking 7,100 as the average population of the Island, and the cultivable land as 33.6 square miles (21,500 acres), the density of the population on the garden land is just over 200 per square mile.

Section 4. Pressure on the Land.

An attempt will now be made to answer the question of how far the supply of cultivable land meets the requirements of the population, by estimating the requirements of the average household. The figures arrived at will necessarily be very approximate since comparative data from the various districts of the Island are not available, and the productivity of the land varies greatly not only between districts but also within them. As Whitehouse said (11) "... inland the land is level with a scanty layer of rich brown soil deposited on a bed of corraline rock, but only in limited areas". As already noted the mean depth of soil is probably no more than a couple of feet, with pockets of greater depth, even in the richest garden lands; but here also coral outcrops reduce the actual cultivable area of cleared garden sites to some extent. Elsewhere cleared sites may consist mainly of coral outcrops or boulders, and heaps of stones collected during previous cultivations(12).

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(11) Annual Report, 1920-21.

(12) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I, pp. 7, 76, 120-121, 290, and Plate 37; Austen, op. cit., pp. 16, 18.

If land which when cleared yields a surface which is 80 percent cultivable or more be rated first grade, land yielding 50 percent - 80 percent cultivable area second grade, 20 percent - 50 percent third grade and land yielding under 20 percent cultivable area as fourth grade, the areas falling within each category may be very roughly defined thus :-

1st Grade - The area of Northern Kiriwina marked as the most fertile garden land on Map 2, and probably central Kitava and Vakuta Islands.

2nd Grade - The rest of Northern Kiriwina district inland; Kuboma and Tilataula north of the central swamp; possible S. eastern Kuboma and Luba districts; parts of Kaileuna Island.

3rd Grade - Western and possibly central Kuboma; Luba district (around Oburaku and Wawela); Central Sinaketa (around the villages); The rest of the outlying Islands, with the exception of areas already specified.

4th Grade - The borders of all coral outcrops and ridges, including the land between East Shore and the eastern main ridges; The borders of swamp areas; Shores of the lagoon and inlets.

Land of all grades occurs to some extent in all districts; even in the Coral Ridge of the East there are frequent pockets of deep fertile soil, used for growinglong yams and especially valued in droughty seasons since the jungle and the depth of the soil tend to conserve moisture (13). The bases of the above grading are firstly village distribution, which in the view of informants is correlated with fertility of garden land; secondly my own necessarily superficial observations; and thirdly comparisons drawn by informants on the basis of the amounts of land that must be cleared in various districts and areas to give as much cultivable surface as a cleared site of a given area in the Omarakana neighbourhood. Taking this area as

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(13) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I, pp. 291, 315.

representative of Grade 1, on a very rough comparison those areas graded 2 require up to twice as much, grade 3 up to three times, and grade 4 up to four times. Assuming the amount of garden produce required per annum to be roughly the same for an average household everywhere (excepting as we shall see in the lagoon villages, where sea food is important and reduces the requirement in garden produce to some extent), the area cultivated by the household varies accordingly in each grade of land. There are no available figures of the area cultivated and the yield from it in the same season, but some idea of the household requirements in land can be obtained on other bases, though it must be very approximate.

In 1950, 33 householders of the villages of Omarakana and Tilakaiwa planted a total of 5.313 acres of main gardens (kaymata) and 48 householders of the same villages planted some 4.295 acres of subsidiary gardens (kaymugwa), while 3 householders of Tilakaiwa village planted 0.11 acres (4,750 square feet) of taro gardens (tapopu - 14). The garden areas were obtained by traced compass triangulation, upon which is based Map 4 which covers roughly the central third of Malinowski's sketch map, page 430 of Coral Gardens, Vol. I. The figures of householders concerned are discussed from other viewpoints in other Chapters ; we are concerned here only with areas cultivated per household. The gardens of Kasanai village are not included here because some of them were made about a mile East of the area covered by the map and were not surveyed accurately. The taro gardens will also be ignored, since their area is so small; but it may be noted that

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(14) For types of gardens and crops grown, v. Malinowski, 1935, I, Cap. X, Secs. 2-5, and pp. 58, 463.

this was stated to be normal, since much of the taro consumed in Omarakana and environs is grown not in separate plots as tends to be the case elsewhere, especially in more swampy areas, but in suitable parts of the main or subsidiary gardens.

The average size of main garden plots in the sample is therefore 0.161 acres, that of subsidiary plots 0.089 acres, or 7,013 and 3,898 square feet respectively. On this sample therefore each household required roughly 0.25 acres of land for its gardens. It should be understood that the main garden acreage does not represent the cultivators' domestic requirements, but is determined by their commitments in ceremonial presentations to others; no allowance is therefore made for some households which cultivate no main plots of their own, since they contribute to the work of cultivating the main plots of other householders represented in the total of 33. Each household however cultivates at least one subsidiary plot of its own, and this together with the presence of the Tabalu Chief's 13 polygamous households and the fact that he himself cultivates only three main plots for affines, accounts for the greater number of subsidiary than of main garden plots.

However according to informants the gardens were less than half normal size in 1950-51, partly because excessive rains had caused the loss of much of the preceding main harvest through rotting, and thus had reduced the supply of seed yams available; and partly because exceptional rains had continued into the planting season and delayed the cutting and burning of the bush on the new sites so that the work had to be hurried when the rain eased. Thus the sites were smaller than usual, and the planting less thorough, for the sake of speed, while a proportion of the planted yams did not grow

properly because the ground remained excessively wet after they were planted. There was nevertheless no apparent anxiety about domestic supplies for the next harvest provided the weather at the end of the season was normally favourable, though some concern was apparent lest the main yam harvest should prove inadequate for ceremonial purposes; and the claim that these gardens were less than half normal size is, taking into account the Kiriwinan's inveterate tendency to exaggerate his capacities and achievements as a gardener, probably somewhat overdrawn. However in order to be on the safe side the claim will be partly accepted and the normal average requirements of the households in the sample will be assumed to be approximately 0.5 acres for all types of gardens per year.

It will be recalled that these gardens were made on grade 1 land, so their acreage does not represent the average requirement per household for the whole Island; according to the estimates of relative fertility given on p. 16 up to four times this area might be required in other districts. A sample presented by Julius (15) confirms the estimate reasonably well for one other region. He reported that in October 1947 the villagers of Kavataria, on the lagoon shore (Map 3) had about 40 acres of main and "probably no more than six acres" of subsidiary gardens. With 85 households in the village, each had an average of 0.47 acres of main and 0.094 acres of subsidiary gardens; i.e. 0.564 acres per household altogether. These gardens also, especially the subsidiary, were said to be rather small, owing to late planting, and we may estimate the normal annual requirement at 0.5

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(15) 1947, Part 2, Section 7, p. 61.

acres of main and 0.1 of subsidiary gardens per household, again erring on the generous side. Thus the main garden requirements of this village approximate to the estimated total requirements for the inland villages already considered, while those for subsidiary plots are about equal.

Kavataria and its garden lands (16) are in an area graded "2 - 3" (p. 15); according to my informants at least double the acreage must be cleared there to give the same cultivable area as a given size of a garden plot on Omarakana land. As the amount of the harvest gift regarded as proper for presentation to persons of the same rank is uniform throughout Northern Kiriwina, it might be expected that the average main garden would be twice as large in Kavataria as in the Omarakana region; and, if the statements of my informants that the gardens I measured in the latter region were half their normal size (0.16 acres) is accepted, the samples bear out the statements. That is, in an average year the inland main garden plot would measure about 0.25 acres and that in Kavataria region about 0.5 acres. But the estimates indicate that the average lagoon village subsidiary garden plot is only about the same size as the inland, if Kavataria be taken as typical of lagoon villages, despite the lower productivity of the lagoon villages' lands. This can be accounted for by the reliance of the lagoon villagers for a proportion of their domestic requirements in garden produce upon exchanges of sea foods for garden produce with inland villagers, and upon obtaining from European sources in exchange for native products and

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(16) The boundaries marked on Map 2 indicate the grouping of villages in districts, not the boundaries of their lands, which may cut across them. Thus the garden lands of Kavataria extend inland across the boundary of Kuboma District as shown, and are not confined to the immediate shore of the lagoon.

services supplies which are less readily available to the inlanders.

As a leading fishing village, however, Kavataria is not typical of all villages whose garden lands have been classed as Grade 2 or lower. Those of these villages which do not rely on fishing as much as the Kavatarians probably do cultivate at least twice as large an area of subsidiary gardens as do the Omarakana people, that is about 0.25 acres per household; while their main gardens are likely, like those of Kavataria, to be twice as big. According to the maps and the estimated gradings of the various regions on page 15, very approximately one third of all villages have garden lands graded as 1-2, one third graded 2-3, and one third garden lands graded 3-4. Kavataria comes into the middle category, and, allowing for its being a lagoon village, the estimate of about half an acre of main and a quarter of an acre of subsidiary gardens per household may be taken with some caution as representing the mean requirement for the whole Island. We may estimate then, again cautiously, that the average area of garden land cultivated by each household is up to one acre per year. This estimate also makes allowance for the apparently small acreage of taro gardens cultivated by the Northern Kiriwinans, of which it will be recalled that in the inland sample there were only three, totalling 0.11 acres, while Julius stated that there was one taro garden of about half an acre at Kavataria (17).

In considering these estimates it must be borne in mind that the cultivation of taro is much more important in Southern Kiriwina Island than in the North. Malinowski (18), while emphasizing this, makes no estimate,

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(17) Op. cit., p. 61.

(18) 1935 I, esp. Cap. X, Sec. 2, pp. 295-300.

either absolute or relative to other types of gardens, of the area of taro plots in the South; in the absence of other information one must simply assume that the overall areas required are similar, while acknowledging that this may quite well be wrong. Hogbin (19) gave the minimum area required for taro gardens to meet the needs of a Busama household of three adults and three children as just under 400 square yards (0.083 acres) under normal circumstances, and the maximum area cultivated since the Japanese War in a given month by this household as 1100 square yards (0.23 acres). But the cultivation of taro differs greatly from that of yams, and the value of comparing these figures with those for the main and subsidiary gardens of the yam cultivating Northern Kiriwinan household, estimated above at 0.5 acres together in a normal year, is at least questionable.

Taking, then, the average requirement in garden land of the average Kiriwinan household as up to one acre in a normal year, we can calculate the total annual requirement on the basis of an estimate of the number of households in Kiriwina. Julius (20) gave the average household of Kavataria as 3.54 persons (85 households in a population of 301). My own figures (p. 42) work out at an average of 3.28 per household in five inland villages. Estimating the average for the whole of Kiriwina at a cautious 3.25 people per household, and the total population at 7,100, there will be about 2,185 households requiring up to 2,200 acres of garden land each year.

The estimate of cultivable land arrived at at the end of Section 3 (p. 14) was 21,500 acres. Under the system of shifting cultivation the recovery

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(19) 1951, p. 18.

(20) Op. cit. p. 59.

period of the lands classified under the different grades varies from about 4 years up to about 7. The mean for the Island would probably be about 5-6 years, and on this estimate between about one fifth and one sixth of the total cultivable land would be available for use in any one year - that is, between about 3,600 and 4,400 acres as against the estimated annual requirement of about 2,200 acres. Allowing a wide margin of error - up to say 25 percent either way in the estimates of land both available and required in a given year - it seems clear that the resources in cultivable land available are well in excess of the requirements of the present population, and could well have supported a larger population in the past. But the productive capacity in the past may have been limited to some extent by the less efficient techniques and tools of cultivation available before the advent of Europeans to the area (21). This excess of available land over requirements is thus to be treated with caution as evidence of a larger population in the past. Furthermore, the traditional production of quantities of yams in excess of consumer requirements for purposes of conspicuous consumption could hardly have been undertaken on the scale it apparently always has been without some considerable excess of land available, especially in competitive gardening seasons (kavasa - 22). On such occasions the gardens might be up to twice the average size, or even more; and this could only be done if up to twice the annual requirement of cultivable land were available, if the recovery cycle of the garden sites were not to be upset.

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(21) V. (Next Section).

(22) Cf. Malinowski e.g. 1935, I, pp. 211-217.

Thus, whether or not the population was larger in the past than in the period of European contact, we may reasonably assume that shortage of land has on the whole never been a pressing problem to the Kiriwinans - certainly not in the last fifty or sixty years. This does not of course preclude the possibility of conflicts arising over possession of better garden sites in different areas, but such motives were not mentioned by my informants as causes of major wars or intervillage disputes; these usually arise from political motives, or result from woman trouble. It seems fairly clear that the more important factors in the ecological situation of the Kiriwinans are the possibility of famine, and the recurrent local yam shortages resulting from drought.

Section 5. <u>European Population</u>

The first permanent European settlers apparently did not arrive in the Trobriands until the end of the last century. Casual contacts however probably began much earlier, and certainly visits by traders, and whalers in search of water and provisions, had preceded permanent settlers by perhaps 25 years. Some traders had apparently also occupied trading sites fairly regularly for part of the year, at Kaibola in the North and in Sinaketa (23). By the turn of the century however the Methodist Overseas Mission had established a headquarters at Oiabbia, near the lagoon village of Kavataria. At about the same time some traders settled along the lagoon shore between this village and that of Tukwa'ukwa. The Trobriands became part of the Southeastern Administrative Division of the British New Guinea

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(23) Austen L., 1925, pp 19, 24. Annual Reports previous to 1900 are not available.

Government in 1900, and thereafter were visited fairly regularly by the Resident Magistrate from his headquarters on Woodlark Island until, in 1905, a Hospital was established at Losuia to tackle the problem of venereal disease. R.L. Bellamy became medical superintendent and, the next year, Assistant Resident Magistrate. Thereafter the Annual Reports deal separately with the Trobriand Islands as an Administrative Subdistrict, except between 1915 and 1918, until that of 1929-30, when the need for economy reduced the scope of the Reports.

In the Report of 1905-06, the white population of the Trobriands is given as 12: 9 men and 3 women. The women were members of the Methodist Mission, one of them being the wife of the Missionary, and the other two were teachers. Of the men, one was the Missionary, another Bellamy and the remaining seven were traders. At this time there was also a floating white population, of uncertain numbers, which visited the Islands annually to fish for beche-de-mer and especially for pearls. These were Europeans from the New Guinea settlements and from Queensland; they were accompanied by some coloured fishermen also - "Manilamen and Malays", they are called in the Annual Report for 1904-05, "no good to the Government, and spreading disease among the natives". By 1907-08, however, a Regulation by which pearl fishing was forbidden to others than Kiriwinan natives had resulted in the cessation of such visits, except by white pearl buyers who came annually during the calm season of the Northwesterlies and tried to induce the lagoon villagers to fish and sell pearls to them. In 1907 there was a sharp drop in the price of pearls on the world market, and this was reflected in the departure of two resident traders in the following year. At this time also

pearl buying licenses were introduced, costing £50 per annum. By 1913-14 the resident European population was 12 (sexes not given), but there were still one man and three women at the Mission, and one Assistant Resident Magistrate.

By 1921-22 there were thirteen adults and three children. After this date the Reports give no figures. By 1930 the fall in the value of pearls, reflecting the world depression had affected the trade in the Trobriands, and Papua generally had begun a period of financial difficulty which lasted until the years immediately preceding World War Two. The native Hospital on Kiriwina was closed in 1924, and was not reopened until after the Japanese war. Trade was bad; difficulties of world price, transport costs and so on affected the Trobriands like the rest of New Guinea. The annual visits of pearling luggers ceased, and trade was limited to purchase and resale by the resident traders. They were able to make copra pay to some extent by buying from the natives, at first raw coconuts and later, when they had learnt the technique, village-cured copra; but the expense of running the very few European plantations which had barely come into production when the First World War ended and the market began to suffer post war difficulties, made them hardly worth maintaining. Such plantations had been established on Muwo Island and by two or three traders on Kiriwina in connection with their stores; the latter however were hardly more than small groves. A further plantation was established on Kitava Island after the First World War. Its owner soon became known locally as the "King of Kitava" because of the influence he was reputed to exercise over the natives and because of his style of living, and entertaining European visitors.

In 1936-37 the Roman Catholic Sacred Heart Mission established a station at Gusaweta, near the lagoon village of Tukwa'ukwa. The white residents were then increased by two or three men (two Fathers and a Lay Brother) and three or four Sisters, nurses and teachers. This continues to be the establishment of the Station, but actual numbers have fluctuated. At about the same time the Government establishment was augmented by a Patrol Officer. On the other hand some children born to traders in the '20's were being sent to Australia to school. There seems thus to have been some fluctuation in the resident white population in the inter-war years, and this is still the case at present. In 1942, when they were withdrawn from the Trobriands in face of possible Japanese occupation, the European residents numbered about 20.

In 1943, Government returned to Kiriwina in the person of, I believe, Mr. Whitehouse, who had been A. R. M. from 1918 to 1928. Accompanied by a Patrol Officer, he came back as a member of the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit, and was soon followed by advance parties of armed forces. A period of military occupation ensued during which troops variously estimated as numbering between 30,000 and 60,000 were stationed in or passed through Kiriwina. They were predominantly American with some Australians and a few British. A number of bomber squadrons operated from two airstrips constructed for the reinvasion of the Solomons; there were many defence and ancillary units scattered over the Island; and it was further used as a transit and leave centre, with a hospital and rest camps established around Gusaweta. By mid-1945 however the last of the armed forces had left, and traders and missionaries began to return when civil administration was restored. In 1951

the resident white population totalled 38, not including occasional visitors, the crews and passengers of flying boats which used the lagoon as an overnight stop on a fortnightly inter-island air service, and myself. The total figure of 38 is made up as follows.

					Totals		
		M.	F.	C.	M.	F.	C.
Government Officials :-							
Assistant District Officer, wife and baby		1	1	1			
Cadet Patrol Officer		1	-	-			
Medical Officer and wife		1	1	-			
Medical Assistant and wife		1	1	-			
	Total	4	3	1	4	3	1
Missions - Methodist :-							
Missionary, wife and small son		1	1	1			
One Teacher and one Nurse		-	2	-			
	Total	1	3	1			
Catholic :-							
Two Fathers and one Lay Brother		3	-	-			
Four Sisters		-	4	-			
	Total	3	4	-			
					4	7	1
Traders - Kiriwina Island :-							
1. Lumleys (Gusaweta) -							
Mrs. Lumley, companion/secretary		-	2	-			
Ralph Lumley, wife and two small sons		1	1	2			
	Total	1	3	2			
2. G. Hancock (Lokuia) -							
George Hancock, wife and daughter		1	1	1			
3. W. Hancock (Teyava) -							
William Hancock, wife and three daughters		1	1	3			
Muwo Island :-							
Plantation Manager, wife and daughter		1	1	1			
Kitava Island :-							
Plantation owner/trader		1	-	-			
					5	6	7
Total, all Europeans					13	16	9

Of all these, only Mrs. Lumley senior, Ralph's mother, represents the earlier generation. Ralph took up residence with her after the Japanese war and is gradually taking over the business. Neither his wife nor any other of the white women resident are Island people by birth. The A. R. M. had been born in New Guinea, while Ralph Lumley and the two Hancocks were all born on Kiriwina, though all took jobs in Australia after schooling, and returned to live in Kiriwina only after the Japanese war. Mrs. Lumley is the only European I met who knew Malinowski at all personally, and she and her husband had comparatively little to do with him during his stay in the Islands. His particular friend was Billy Hancock, the father of the brothers now trading there, whose name appears in the indices of all three of Malinowski's major monographs. Mrs. Hancock, his widow, trades in Sinaketa, near Wawela. She is a halfcaste herself, and although she lives in semi-European style, hardly counts as a member of the resident white community. Billy himself disappeared mysteriously from his boat in the mid-thirties, while on a visit to Samarai. The Brudo family, also referred to by Malinowski, either left Kiriwina at the end of the lucrative period of pearl fishing or, in the case of a son, did not return after the Japanese war. Thus there was no one among the Europeans with whom I could satisfactorily check reminiscences of Malinowski which came up from time to time in discussion with my informants.

The influence of the contact with European culture represented by this white population will be discussed in more detail in Chapter V.. Here, I wish only to point out the significance of their presence in regard to the two main subjects discussed in this chapter - the matter of land resources

and that of famine. In the former their presence has had little or no apparent significance. The amounts of land taken up by their residences and stations are negligible. No attempt has been made by Europeans to acquire large holdings of land for coconut plantations or other purposes, although the Lumleys have a small one (not more than 50 acres) at Kaibola. That on Muwo Island uses land not normally cultivated; Muwo was used by the natives almost solely as a camping site on major fishing expeditions. I can not speak of the Kitava plantation at first hand, but understand that it also is not large. There are a number of reasons for this; Government policy, which has tended to treat the Trobriands as a special area; lack of incentive in the interwar years, when copra was not a paying proposition for the small planter anyhow; and the adequacy of the supply from native sources, especially since the Government instituted plantings of palms along roads and in village plantations (see Chap. V.) have been in production. So far as the supply of land is concerned, then, the presence of Europeans has hardly affected it.

The matter of famine presents rather a different picture, however. On the one hand, the Europeans' presence has not affected the geographical and climatic situation. On the other, it has given the natives some degree of assurance that should their own crops fail, they will not be allowed to starve (24). Not only has the introduction of alien crops provided them with the means of safeguarding to some extent against failure of their own crops; the presence of stores in which bully beef, rice etc. can be bought

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(24) Cf. Malinowski, e.g. 1935, I, p. 161. p. 480.

means that this additional source is open to them so long as they have money or goods to barter; and, perhaps in certain contexts, most important of all, there is the belief that Government will not let them starve in the last resort. All these considerations have affected the social system to some extent, and will be discussed further in the appropriate place, when an attempt will be made to correlate these factors with the indigenous and presentday situations. Here however I am concerned primarily to show that in general there is and has been no land shortage, but that the hazard of food shortage and even actual starvation has been great in the past, and its effect is not altogether absent in the present; amongst other things, the Japanese war taught the Kiriwinans that the Europeans might withdraw, and leave them again to their own resources. Meanwhile there continues the recurrent risk of local shortages not to the extent of endangering the life of the villagers, but limiting the resources available for the ceremonial use of foodstuffs which is so important a feature of Trobriand social organisation.

Part 2.

The Pattern of Settlement

The general appearance and layout of the countryside and villages of Kiriwina have already been adequately described by Malinowski (25), and it is necessary here only to summarise the general pattern and relate certain aspects of it to factors discussed in the last Chapter.

Section 1. General Considerations.

The Trobriand villages range in size from three or four households with twelve to fifteen inhabitants to a hundred or more households with some 350-450 inhabitants; but such large villages are always of the compound type (v. pp. 34-36); e.g. Kwaybwaga, Okaikoda or Diaghila (Maps 2 and 3). Kavataria village (p. 21), comprising 85 households and some 300 inhabitants, is above the average size, which is probably about half that of this village. My informants named about 65 villages on Kiriwina Island, most of which appear on the maps; but not less than a quarter of these comprise distinct sub-sites, and the total is probably at least 80 villages (cf. Bellamy cited pp. 10-11). Taking the estimated number of households as 2,185 (p. 21), the average size of the villages dealt with in detail in the next Section range from 14 to 33 households and 49-112 inhabitants. The general layout of the villages has been correlated by Malinowski (26) with cultural factors, modified in some cases by topographical. The

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(25) Eg. 1922, pp. 49-62; 1935 I, pp. 3-12.

(26) Eg. 1922, pp. 55-56.

classic pattern of concentric rings of houses and yamstores is found in the inland villages (Map 5). Around the lagoon it cannot well be followed because of the broken nature of the ground, and the villages tend to huddle irregularly according to the availability of suitable building sites. The land on which the lagoon villages stand is normally uncultivable; that on which the inland villages are sited normally is cultivable, however. In their case the classical pattern may have some value in reducing the area taken up by the village.

a. Village Clusters and Types.

There is, as Malinowski has pointed out, a tendency for villages to be sited close together in clusters. This may be correlated with topographical and sociological features. On the lagoon, there is a tendency for village sites to cluster in this way around creeks which offer easy and safe landing and mooring for canoes; inland, access to water supplies may be of importance, while the richer the land and the more dense the population, the closer together the village sites tend to be (27). Inland and by the lagoon, clustering has advantages for various forms of cooperation, including defence. Malinowski's use of the term "village cluster" seems to refer primarily to spacial distribution of sites; where these are contiguous, he refers to a village cluster; but he also says that some villages may, though not contiguous, be so close together as to comprise a cluster in effect (28). The term as he uses it lacks definition. As he shows,

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(27) Cf. Malinowski, 1935, I, pp 24, 346.

(28) Ibid., cf. Kurokaywa villages, p. 278, 346, 355.

spatial contiguity is reflected in the intensity of interaction of the population of villages; but it will be seen further that other villages than those whose sites are the closest together may have such intensive relations. The term village cluster will thus be used here to denote a group of villages, more or less closely sited together, between the inhabitants of which a special relationship exists, generally apparent in the intensity of their social interaction, and more specifically apparent in the frequency of intermarriage. Such clusters usually recognise a single leader and constitute an economic and political unit headed by him to some extent, and their inhabitants are more or less clearly recognised by outsiders as comprising a single corporate group under certain circumstances. The five villages discussed in the next Section comprise a single cluster of this kind; two of them are contiguous, while the greatest distance between any two is not more than 800 yards (Map 3); but reference to the map will show that in other parts of the Island, where land is less fertile and population less dense, villages of such clusters may be a mile or more apart. Single and multiple villages within such clusters might be distinguished, according to whether sites are contiguous; but this distinction will prove to have little significance for social structure and organisation except in so far as it may promote frequency of social intercourse between members of adjacent rather than of more distant villages within clusters in day to day interaction.

Distinctions which are essentially of sociological importance may however be drawn between what I shall call simple, joint and compound villages - the latter two being terms which are used, again loosely, by

Malinowski throughout Coral Gardens, Volume I. The term "joint" refers generally to the fact that most Kiriwinan villages village sites and lands are owned by more than one subclan, and Malinowski uses "joint" freely in reference to such rights, with the term "compound" more or less as a synonym. There are cases however where the two or more subclans owning a single village site exploit its land together in a single gardening team, even though in such cases each subclan will have its own section of the village site and its own fields or plots in its lands. On the other hand, each such owning subclan may form the nucleus of a separate gardening team and exploit a particular area of the garden lands attached to the village. The significance of this will be discussed later; but it may be noted that it is probably less than might at first glance be suspected. I shall thus use the following terminology :-

Simple Village — where a single site and its lands are owned by a single subclan and exploited by a single residential and gardening unit or team.

Joint Village — where a single site and its garden lands are owned by two or more subclans in common and exploited in a single gardening team, though each subclan may have special rights in certain areas of the village site and lands.

Compound Village — where a single site and its garden lands are owned by two or more subclans with separate sectors of residence and garden teams within the village; and comparable situations.

There is some evidence that joint and compound villages represent stages in the fusion or fission of village sites. There has probably always, certainly in recent times, been a tendency for village sites to expand and contract, for some to be deserted sometimes, and for some originally separate sites to unite or to become contiguous, or the reverse, according to

fluctuations in the local population, as we shall see in examining the Omarakana cluster. But whatever the nature of the social group occupying it, each village site has certain features in common with all the others, apart from differences between those situated on the lagoon or with access to the coasts, and those few inland villages with no beaches of their own.

b. Village Lands.

Every village site is associated with areas of garden land, of swamp and coral outcrops, and most with areas of beach and foreshore on the East or North coast or on the lagoon (29). Each area contributes its own special utility to the needs of the village. Thus apart from providing useful trees, creepers and grasses, swampy areas will grow taro, and nowadays some European introduced crops, in dry seasons. The coral ridges and outcrops also have special value in dry seasons since, as has already been said, they retain moisture longer than the best garden lands. Normally they are too damp and sunless for staple yams, but the long yams called kuvi are regularly grown in the pockets of deep soil found in them. The wild fruits of many kinds which grow in the uncultivable areas are always valued as relishes or snacks in normal times especially by children; but they take on special value in seasons of scarcity (30). Most of the coral outcrops and ridges contain permanent watersources, to which frequent recourse is had even in normal seasons; and most villages have secret hiding places in swamps or coral ridge to which the population fled in emergencies in

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(29) Cf. Malinowski, 1935, I, pp. 17, 363-4.

(30) Cf. Malinowski, 1935, I, p. 160.

pre-European times. Also in the coral ridges, mostly on the seaward sides, are the caves and crevices where the bones of the dead used finally to be laid to rest after the completion of the mortuary rites.

The areas of beach and adjacent coral ridge on East Shore belonging to the villagers of eastern Kiriwina District have not the general importance in their economy of the lagoon in that of the villages situated along its margin, however. It is possible to fish the lagoon the whole year round in safety, and sea foods are an important item of the staple diet in its vicinity. The East Shore is open to the full force of the swell raised during eight months of the year by the Southeasterly Trades, and during this time it is dangerous to venture even into the marginal shallows. During the Northwesterlies, when the wind is offshore along the East coast, the shallows can be fished, but they produce relatively little, while it is risky to venture on to the open sea in a native canoe with an offshore breeze; thus economically the Omarakana cluster are "inland" villages. The land between the Eastern beaches and coral ridges is sometimes used for gardens, but is very stony and rocky, grade 3-4 in terms of the categories earlier discussed, and is used on the whole only in dry seasons when, being nearer sea-level than the inland garden sites, taro or coarse yams may grow there after the inland gardens have been dessicated. Nowadays cocomut plantations have been established in many places on this land by the villagers, partly at the instigation of the Administration. But all the year round the East Shore is a favourite resort for children and lovers, and it comes into its own when preparations are in full swing for Kula sailings to Kitava, during the period of calms and early in the Northwesterly

season, when a large proportion of the villagers, with their wives and children, often camp there for days at a time. In short the East Shore signifies to most inland villagers not fish supplies but Kitava, the Kula and, in one man's phrase, "Holidays".

c. Communications.

One other aspect of the topography of the Islands requires further consideration. This is the relative absence, at least within Kiriwina Island itself, of natural obstacles to travel and communication between villages and districts. This is in marked contrast to many areas of mainland New Guinea, and even to the large islands of the D'Entrecasteaux group, where mountain ridges and other obstacles make it not infrequently a day's journey to cover five miles as the crow flies. In Kiriwina on the other hand all the villages are interconnected by a network of paths which afford very easy travelling, nowadays even by bicycle, throughout the greater part of the Island (cf. Maps 2 and 3). There is no road by which a man could comfortably transport himself, his handbag and his bushknife between Northern Kiriwina and Sinaketa, but here communication over the lagoon by canoe is relatively easy. Again it is not possible to cross the swamps of Northern Kiriwina on foot with a load, but they are easily skirted. Elsewhere, except where coral outcrops make the going difficult in places, the paths afford easy walking. Under normal conditions a native of any of the Northern Kiriwinan villages can easily travel to the Government Station at Losuia and back in a day, and if a canoe can be found in one of the lagoon villages the journey from Kaibola in the North to Sinaketa or Vakuta is readily completed between dawn and sunset.

Communications with the outlying Islands are not so easy, since open seas must be crossed and the Kiriwinan canoes will not beat to windward except in calm waters. Kaileuna may be reached in moderate weather all the year round; the Lusancays (Map 1) are rarely visited by the Kiriwinans at all, though people from these Islands visit Kiriwina fairly often in the calms or Northwesterly seasons. Similarly it is only at these seasons that Kitava can be reached directly from Northern Kiriwina, though it is possible to sail directly to Kiriwina from Kitava during the Southeasterlies, though this involves the risk of surf preventing landings on the East Shore, when it becomes necessary to round the northern coast into the lee of the land with the hazard of being blown out to sea past Tuma. It is easier in moderate winds to sail directly between Kitava and Sinaketa or Vakuta during the Trades provided the wind is moderate, for then it is on the beam, while at this season Kitava is dead to windward of northern Kiriwina. Normally these factors limit sailings from Kiriwina to Kitava to the calms or Northwester season, when Kula sailings take place; but Kitavans visit Sinaketa and <u>vice versa</u> all the year round, and Kitavans sometimes continue overland from Olivilevi on East Shore, or via the lagoon from Sinaketa, to northern Kiriwina. When as occurred in 1951 Kula sailings from Northern Kiriwina to Kitava are held up until the onset of the Southeaster the fleet has either to wait and hope for a break in the wind or, if this seems hopeless, to sail North round Kiriwina, south through the lagoon to Sinaketa, through the Gilibwa Channel and thence northeast to Kitava. In 1951 the Southeaster abated long enough for the fleet to sail direct to Kitava, but too late for me to go with it. Communications between Kiriwina and the

other Islands are thus governed and limited by the seasons, which have also partly conditioned the rules of Kula both to the east and the southwest.

Thus the Kiriwinans live in clusters of compact villages, the clusters always, and the villages often, separated by stretches of secondary bush and gardens, or by natural features such as swamps or relatively infertile stony areas. Each village has its own lands of the different kinds necessary for its various requirements; most have access to the sea for fishing and overseas journeys, and all have easy communication and close contact with neighbours. Natural features tend to demarcate clusters and groups among the villages, and to some extent such groupings provide the basis of social groupings also, as we shall see; but such larger groups or clusters of villages are always readily accessible to each other by land or water, while communication between the different Islands though less easy is by no means impossible. Against this background, together with the factors of population distribution and density discussed in the first part of this Chapter, we shall now begin the analysis of the Trobriand social system.

Section 2. Omarakana Village Cluster.

a. Demography.

I propose in this section to give an ethnographic account of the five villages which formed the scene of intensive fieldwork, leaving analysis of the data presented as far as possible to later Chapters.

The villages concerned are Omarakana, Kasanai, Tilakaiwa, Yolawotu, and Wakailua, lying in the middle of the most fertile area of Northern Kiriwina (Maps 3 and 4). All are frequently referred to in Malinowski's

major monographs, especially in Coral Gardens, Vol. I; he spells the fourth village Yourawotu. In the terminology explained in the last Section (pp. 33-35), Omarakana and Kasanai together form a multiple, "twin" village, their hut circles being contiguous. Tilakaiwa, Yolawotu and Wakailua are all today simple villages, though in Malinowski's time Tilakaiwa was a "twin" village with Kupwakopula, as is shown on Map 5. Kupwakopula was however deserted in the late '30's, after a series of deaths in the owning subclan which is now extinct, and the site has not been reoccupied. Individually, Tilakaiwa and Wakailua are simple villages, each owned and occupied by single subclans and their accretions; the others are all joint villages. The two joint villages of Omarakana and Kasanai may from certain points of view however be regarded as together comprising a compound village, since there is a tendency for the garden lands of each to be cultivated as occasion demands by either, though their respective gardening teams remain separate.

The five villages are situated close together just to the east of the boundary between Kiriwina and Tilataula districts (Map 3), Omarakana and Kasanai being the furthest west, Tilakaiwa about 330 yards from them to the south of east, then Yolawotu about 250 yards southwest of Tilakaiwa and Wakailua about 500 yards south of Yolawotu. Tilakaiwa, Kupwakopula and Yolawotu are frequently referred to by Malinowski under the name of "the Kurokaywa villages" (31). This usage reflects primarily their spatial contiguity, in the same way that the name Omarakana is often used to include

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(31) Cf. e.g. 1935 I, pp. 277, 278, 355.

both that village and Kasanai. The garden teams of Tilakaiwa and Yolawotu are today, and always appear to have been, quite independent, although during 1950-51 the Tilakaiwa garden magician performed certain spells on the Yolawotu garden site, the latter village having then no competent magician of its own. By their own inhabitants and by outsiders however all five villages are more often referred to collectively as bodala Omarakana.

The word boda refers to any group cooperating or constituting a unit for a particular purpose or in a specific context; e.g. a team of dancers, a canoe's crew or the collective crews of the canoes of a fleet; or the group organising a feast or mortuary rite (kayasa or sagali) as against the group attending it, and so forth. Bodala Omarakana could thus be translated as "the Omarakana team, fleet, crew, party" etc. according to context; but the term is regularly used to distinguish the inhabitants of these five villages as the nuclear group of close associates and followers of the Tabalu Chief of Omarakana village, as against analogous groups of followers of other local notabilities; e.g. the lesser Chiefs (gumguyau) of the villages of the Kwaybwaga, the Liluta- Osapola or the Wakaisa village clusters. Thus when the present Tabalu Chief of the Omarakana, Mitakata, held a major competitive dance festival (kauvesa)at the harvest season (Milamala)of 1950, the inhabitants of the Omarakana cluster under his leadership were referred to collectively as "bodala la kauvesa Mitakata", "Mitakata's dance-festival company", both in connection with the organisation and the dancing itself. The followings of other Chiefs and notabilities, and dance teams from other localities, were similarly designated by contrast. At the Kula preparations of 1950-51 also the seven canoes of the Omarakana

cluster were designated bodala Omarakana as against aggregates of canoes from other clusters, such as bodala Liluta. But the term is also freely used to denote the populations of village clusters as groups without reference to specific events or undertakings; and this usage reflects the fact that, as will be seen in a later Chapter, village clusters constitute groups of general economic and political significance as well as specific, although in some contexts individual villages or the kin-groups which form their nuclei are the significant units.

The population of the Omarakana cluster is recorded in Table 1a of the Appendix, where the numbers of male and female householders and other adults and children of each sex are presented for each village. The total of 325 persons is divided among 99 households each occupying a separate dwelling house, giving an average population for the village cluster of 3.28 members per household. Fourteen of the households are polygamous; twelve are those of Mitakata, the Chief of Omarakana, and two those of Kureai, Headman of Yolawotu. Ten household heads are single men; five of these are bachelors and five widowers. Four of the household heads are single women; all these are elderly widows who are unlikely to remarry. Apart from having incomplete affinal responsibilities (see next Section), all these persons lead more or less full adult lives according to their physical capacities, and some have dependants living with them. There is one household in which the male and female heads are not married; both are elderly persons who lost their spouses late in life. The woman is the sister of the man's dead wife, and moved into his household upon her sister's death to help bring up some of her children. These two are not regarded as

a married couple by the rest of the inhabitants, nor do they refer to each other as husband and wife; the children they are caring for however refer to them as father and mother. The remaining 70 households are those of normally married couples.

The relationships of the fifteen persons listed in Table 1a as "Adult Dependants" to the male heads of the households in which they live are shown in Table 2 in the Appendix. None of these persons is playing a full adult role in the life of the community, either because of youth or because, their marriages having lapsed, they are no longer young enough to live alone and garden, as do the widows and widowers already referred to. The two sons' wives listed in this table were still living in the households of their husbands' fathers because their marriages had so recently occurred that no houses had been built for them, either in the sons' fathers' or in their maternal subclans' villages, at the time the count was made, nor had they set up independent households by the time I left the Island.

In Table 2a are shown the relationships of the household heads (males) to the owning subclan of the villages of residence. Of the four female household heads, two are occupying houses in the villages of their own subclans, and are bringing up one or more of their uterine or adopted children there; they are both middle aged but still vigorous, and neither of them shows any inclination to marry again. The other two are also widows, one elderly, the other in late middle age, who have chosen to remain in their husbands' houses and villages where they cultivate small gardens for married daughters (Cf. p. 57). Of the male household heads, 33 (40 percent) are resident in the villages of their matrilineal subclans, constituting the

largest single category of residence by a specific kinship link; of the remaining 49 (60 percent), who are all "strangers" in their villages of residence, by far the largest category represented is that of residents in a father's village, totalling 26 (32 percent). The implications of these data will be further explored in the later chapters on Kinship; it is enough for present purposes to point out that the majority of the relationships represented are close by native reckoning, whether matrilineal or affinal.

Two male non-citizen householders remain unaccounted for in the table, whose rights to residence are formulated by the natives in terms other than kinship. One is Mosiviyagila, the last remaining representative of the Tabalu Chiefs' retimue of ceremonial attendants and counsellors. The other is Keleba the native Methodist pastor of the Mission Church and School at Omarakana. Although I have included him and his family in the census figures his position is unique, as we shall see later, and in many respects he hardly counts as a member of the native community (32). With these two exceptions all residents of the villages other than members of the owning subclans, i.e. those traditionally recognised as having rights of ownership in the village and garden lands, phrase their rights to residence in the cluster in terms of affinal or clan kinship with members of one or the other owning subclan.

b. <u>Clan and Subclan Membership and Distribution</u>.

Repeated references to the characteristics of Trobriand clans and

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(32) The Positions of both these men are discussed in Cap. V.

subclans are to be found in the indices of all Malinowski's major works. A summary of their main features only will be attempted here, as a background for further analysis of the census figures.

The subclan (dala - 33) consists in the recognised matrilineal descendants, male and female, of a common mythical ancestress who, accompanied by a brother or brothers, emerged from the underworld at a known spot and thereby, or by her subsequent activities as recorded in the subclan's myth of origin (liliu) established her descendants' rights over the site of its village and garden and other lands. The rank of the subclan also, as Chiefly (Guyau), lesser Chiefly (gumguyau or Toliwaga) or commoner (tokay) was also established at the same time, by the verbal claims or the deeds of the emergent ancestors, the tosunapulo. A number of the men of the owning subclan(s) of a village normally form the nucleus of the corporate group of its inhabitants, while the members of the subclan, male and female, constitute a corporate group for certain purposes, irrespective of residence, as against other like units, including any other owning subclans of the same village.

Clans (kumila - 34) as such, on the other hand, never figure as corporate groups. The term refers ultimately to the aggregate of subclans whose membership of a named clan like other attributes was promulgated by the emergent ancestors. There are no traditions of kinship links between mythical ancestors of subclans of the same clan as such; but in special circumstances, e.g. cases of joint ownership of village sites, in joint or

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(33) Cf. esp. Malinowski, 1935 I, pp. 345-346.

(34) Cf. Malinowski 1929, Cap. XII, Sec. 5.

compound villages, special kinship relations, matrilineal or affinal, between the emergent ancestors are sometimes claimed in justification of the situation of their descendants. The subclans concerned may be of different rank and, if the link postulated between the ancestors is affinal, their subclans will also be of different clans. Clans are associated with certain totemic animals, birds and fishes, the animals figuring in a myth which establishes, rather nebulously, the relative prestige of the four clans. Malinowski (35) says that the myth accounts for difference in rank of the clans; but as he shows elsewhere (36) rank in the Chief - Commoner hierarchy attaches to the subclans, and this myth is of a different order from the liliu origin myths.

Land rights etc. are not vested in clans, nor have they any permanent system of leadership or authority. In fact the only really significant way clan membership is manifested is on some ceremonial occasions, notably in mortuary rites. Thus when one subclan is making a mortuary food distribution, all the other subclans of the same clan in the locality tend to be associated with it in the ceremonial; that is, all members of such subclans attending the mortuary rite associate themselves with the organisers for that occasion, but the subclans represented are not corporately involved, and affinal kinship links between them and the main parties may override clan kinship, as determinants of their role in the ritual. Matrilineal descent determines clan membership, but indirectly, through subclan membership. Members of the same clan regard each other as pseudokinsfolk (kakaveya), and apply

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(35) Malinowski, 1929, pp. 419-420.

(36) Ibid., p. 421.

kinship terms to each other, primarily in ceremonial contexts, on the basis of approximate age and generation membership. But while subclans are always strictly exogamous, clans, though also exogamous in theory, are not always so in practice. (v. Cap. V, Sec. 5.)

In Northern Kiriwina Island, two of the clans are often associated together in ceremonial situations against the other two. This does not appear to be connected with any formal moiety organisation; it seems rather to be a means of dividing the local population into two approximately equal parts on occasions when everybody in the locality is more or less involved in some public event. My informants said that the most and the least numerous clans in a given area are often associated in this way over against the other two, and that the grouping tends to vary from place to place according to the numbers in each clan locally represented.

In Table 3 (Appendix), the population of the Omarakana village cluster is presented by clan and subclan membership, and by residence in villages. Further, the proportions of villagers as Adult Male householders, Adult Female wives or householders and Dependants are shown under each village. Of the total of 325 people, the Mailasi clan are most numerous with 148 members (46 percent). They are ceremonially associated with the smallest subclan, the Lukulabuta, numbering 17 (5 percent), their combined numbers totalling 165 (51 percent). The Lukuba number 81 (25 percent) and the Lukwasisiga 79 (24 percent) and constitute the other ceremonial pair; together they number 160, or 49 percent of the total. The preponderance of Mailasi may be related to the presence in Omarakana of the Tabalu subclan, the highest ranking of all, which belongs to the Mailasi clan. To what

extent the distribution of clans and subclans varies in other parts of the Islands cannot be discussed statistically, in the absence of data; it will however be examined from other points of view in later chapters.

There are eight subclans with rights of ownership (37) in one or other of the five villages of the Omarakana cluster. Their membership is indicated in Table 3 by underlining relevant figures. Not all their members reside in the subclans' villages, for of course by the rule of virilocal marriage women and children tend to live in their husbands' or fathers' villages. Figures relating to their distribution appear in Tables 4 and 5. Men tend to reside in their own subclans' village moving there from their fathers' households nowadays usually at or not long before marriage. The highest ranking subclan in the cluster, the Tabalu of the Mailasi clan, are owners of both Omarakana and the northern part of Kasanai villages; this is Kasanai site proper, as against the southern part of the village which is strictly a contiguous site called Yogwabu (Map 5). Malinowski (38) said that the name Yogwabu designated "an extinct part of Omarakana" and "the northeastern part of the village (of Omarakana)". Its being now counted part of Kasanai could be evidence of the shrinking of Omarakana, a process which apparently had already begun at the time of Malinowski's fieldwork. The subclan he called Kaluvau (39) owns this part of present day Kasanai.

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(37) Cf. Malinowski, e.g. 1922, pp. 70-72; 1929, p. 417; 1935, I, passim. As used here "ownership" implies the right by birth to reside in a village and exploit its garden lands; "citizenship" implies the acquisition of such rights by affinal or clan kinship, but not by birth into the subclan.

(38) 1935, I, pp. 414, 431.

(39) 1935, I, esp. pp. 342, 414.

It appears as no. 4, Obukula subclan of Mailasi clan, in table 3, with rights of joint ownership with the Tabalu in Kasanai.

Naming of Subclans

A brief discussion of the naming of subclans may be permitted here. In the reference last given, Malinowski outlined the myth of emergence of the subclan concerned, which told how its mythical ancestors, Kaluvau and Bokaluvau, emerged from the underworld at the spot called Bulimaulo in Obukula grove in the environs of Yogwabu. A subclan is often referred to by the name of its emergent ancestor(s), but it may quite as often be called by the name of its place of emergence. The ancestor's name is perhaps more often used where more than one subclan emerged at the same place, but even in such cases the name of the place may be used. Thus there are Wabari subclans in both the Lukwasisiga and the Lukulabuta clans - Table 3, nos. 26 and 39. It is in fact not easy to follow Malinowski's account. In the reference given (1935, I, p. 342) he writes of "the waterhole called Bulimaulo in Obukula from which the subclan of Kaluvau came out". But on the same page he writes of "the most famous of such holes of emergence, called Obukula", from which the highest ranking subclans emerged, and from which also emerged the animals in the same myth of clan origin. In the account of the latter myth given in The Sexual Life of Savages, pp. 419 - 420, the hole of emergence (Obukula) is said to be near Labai village on the Northwest Coast of Kiriwina. In discussion of this myth the place of emergence was referred to by my informants by the same name, Labai, as the village; and they referred to the place of emergence of the subclan associated with Yogwabu as Obukula, by which name they regularly referred to the subclan itself also,

although the older men at least were familiar with the names of Kaluvau and Bokaluvau.

It seems, in short, that the name used for a subclan depends on a number of factors; for instance on whether or not more than one subclan emerged at the same point; but especially also on the degree of familiarity with the myths of emergence of the subclan. Thus on the one hand, where locally important subclans are concerned, a variety of names, of ancestor, place of emergence or villages associated with them, are used more or less interchangeably for the same subclan without risk of confusion since the myths are well known locally, at any rate to the older men. On the other hand, in the case of residents belonging to subclans which own distant villages, especially when their subclans are of low rank or unimportant in their own localities, the relevant myths tend to be unknown to the other residents of the villages where they live, and they may be designated locally only loosely by the names of the villages with which their subclans are associated. There are in short possibilities of confusion for the outsider in both situations.

Ownership of Villages as a Factor in Residence.

However genealogies make it clear that the owning subclan of Yogwabu section of Kasanai village, which apparently was called Kaluvau by Malinowski's informants, is that which my informants called Obukula, and I use the latter term. Thus Tabalu and Okukula subclans have joint rights in Kasanai village. In addition to the Tabalu, a lesser chiefly (gumguyau) subclan of the Lukwasisiga clan has limited rights of ownership in Omarakana village; these rights derive from their traditional position there as supporters (affines)

of the Tabalu Chief, and as representatives of the highest ranking and most important Northern Kiriwinan subclan from which he receives a wife. This is the subclan which owns Liluta village. It is called Kwoynama by Malinowski (40) but my informants always referred to it as Bwaydaga (Table 3, no. 25). Genealogical evidence again leaves no doubt that these names refer to the same subclans. This is the only Lukwasisiga subclan with any rights of ownership on the Omarakana cluster.

Tilakaiwa village is owned by one subclan, the Lobwaita of Lukuba clan (Table 3, no. 13). As with the Bwaydaga (Kwoynama), two members named by Malinowski (41) as gardening for To'uluwa of Omarakana are now gardening for Mitakata, his successor as Tabalu Chief. Two owning subclans are associated at present with Yolawotu village, although Malinowski (42) says there was only one. They are the Kalomi and Gawari subclans of Mailasi clan (Table 3, nos. 5 and 6). Finally, Wakailua village has one owning subclan, the Osisupa of the Mailasi clan (Table 3, no. 2). The last four subclans are not referred to by name by Malinowski, although he mentions the name of the place of emergence of one of them - Gawari, or Gawa'i, the name by which the subclan is usually designated : but again, persons whom Malinowski names as members of the owning subclans of these villages appear in the genealogies I collected.

In Tables 4 and 5 (Appendix), figures are given to show the proportions

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(40) 1935, I, pp. 362, 415, 417 etc.

(41) ibid, pp 399, 408.

(42) ibid, p. 346.

of the members of the owning subclans resident in the villages of their subclans, in other villages of the same village cluster and in villages outside the village cluster. Table 4 presents these figures for the total population of the cluster, and Table 5 for the members of the owning subclans. In the former Table the totals given are for owning subclans, but for non-owners by clan; in the latter the consolidated figures for owners are analysed. In both Tables the population is classed according to sex and status as adult Household Heads and Wives and Male or Female Dependants, and by residence as A. Residents in their own subclans' villages; B. Residents in their own village cluster (i.e. members of owning subclans in the cluster resident in villages other than their own); and C. Residents having no rights of ownership in any village of the cluster. Table 6 adds to the figures for owning subclans shown in Table 5 those for members of other subclans whose own villages are outside it; when this is done the totals under headings A. and B. remain the same in both Tables, but those under heading C. change, while the percentages under all headings are of course also changed.

The figures presented in these Tables show that of the total population sample, 22 percent reside in the villages of their matrilineal subclans; 28 percent reside in other villages of the same cluster as that of the villages and clusters in which they have no rights as members of owning subclans (cf. Table 2a and page 43, where it was seen that 40 percent of male householders were living in their matrilineal subclans' villages, while 60 percent were "strangers"). These figures might suggest that residence in the own village is more significant in theory than in practice; but if the figures

are examined from the point of view of distribution of members of subclans, rather than from that of composition of the village populations, and if the rates for the two sexes are examined, a rather different picture emerges. Thus of the members of the eight subclans with rights of ownership in the villages of the cluster, 35 percent live in their own villages and 45 percent in other villages of the same cluster, but only 20 percent live in villages outside the cluster. In other words, 80 percent of the members of the owning subclans live within the village cluster where their subclans have rights of ownership, and 20 percent outside it, though in the total population sample, 50 percent of the people live in their own village cluster and 50 percent outside it. This distribution is probably reasonably typical of present conditions in the villages of Northern Kiriwina at least, with the possible exception of the lagoon villages where more intensive contact with European influences may have emphasised patrilineal at the expense of matrilineal ties (v. Cap. V).

It may be however that the proportion of "strangers" at present resident in the Omarakana cluster is higher than in others owing to the prestige of the Tabalu Chief. As will be discussed later, this undoubtedly attracted many people to Omarakana in olden times, and although for a variety of reasons the prestige and power of the Chiefs have been considerably curtailed under European rule, enough remains to be reflected in these figures to some extent. It will be noted of the Tabalu that all three adult males, four out of five adult females, seven out of nine boys and six out of nine girls live in Omarakana and Kasanai. Only one small girl is living in a village outside the Omarakana cluster, and the other woman, two boys and two girls

living in the village cluster are all residents of Tilakaiwa. This is related to the fact that Omarakana and Tilakaiwa are the only two villages in the cluster whose owning subclans are of different clans to that of the Tabalu. (It will be recalled that the Bwaydaga subclan, Lukwasisiga clan, has rights of residence in Omarakana; Tabalu women would not readily be married to men of nonowning subclans in the cluster - Cf. Section 1 c. later). The tendency for the Tabalu to concentrate in their own village may be correlated with the diminished prestige of the Chief, as a result of which this concentration may reinforce what power remains to him, and with the fact that the subclan is also numerically weak at present also, so that the concentration may be of some value in making up for this.

In all other cases some of the adult males of each owning subclan are resident outside their own villages, except those of the two Mailasi commoner subclans of Yolawotu. Two out of nine Bwaydaga, ten out of seventeen Osisupa and thirteen out of twenty Lobwaita men live outside their own villages. It is of course in line with the rule of residence that all the men of the Tabalu and the other two subclans should reside in their own villages (but not that nearly all the women and dependant children should also do so, as is the case with the Tabalu - v. above). Of these 19 adult males living within the village cluster but in villages other than their own, thirteen are resident in Father's village, two in Father's Father's, and one each in Mother's Mother's Husband's, Daughter's Husband's, Sister's Husband's and Wife's villages. (The last is also the village of the man's father; this is a case of patrilateral cross cousin marriage and will be further discussed in the next Section, as will the significance of the other data given here). Thus 50 percent of the recorded cases of residence in

Father's village are of men of the same village cluster as the father.

Sex and residence

If women and children be considered, it will be seen that only in the case of the Tabalu are the members of an owning subclan concentrated in its village to the extent of 77 percent. Although in two other subclans all the males are so resident, only three out of a total of 24 (12 percent) members of the Kalomi subclan are, and nine out of fourteen (64 percent) of the Gawari. There is thus a considerable difference in the relevant frequencies between the sexes and age groups. 56 percent of adult and 43 percent of all males of the owning subclans live in their matrilineal subclans' own villages, but only 27 percent of adult and 25 percent of all females do so. In contrast, only 12 percent of adult and 14 percent of all male members of owning subclans live outside the village cluster, while 30 percent of adult and 27 percent of all females do so. The remainder in each case of course live in the village cluster but not in their own villages. In other words, just three times as many men live in their own villages and three times as many in the village cluster as live outside it. But as many women of owning subclans live outside as in their own villages, while twice as many live in villages other than their own within the village cluster as outside it or in their own villages. About the same proportions (50 percent) of both men and women live in other villages than their own but in the same village cluster. In other than the Omarakana village cluster, where as has been indicated the presence of the Tabalu may to some extent affect the pattern of residence, the proportions of men living in their own villages may be higher, and that of men drawn into the

cluster from outside lower, than this sample indicates - an assumption which is borne out by comparisons drawn by the natives themselves. Similarly fewer women may live in their own villages, and more of them and of their children may live outside the village cluster of their own subclans.

These figures bear out the importance of the differential socalled avunculocal and virilocal rules of residence for men and women respectively. But they also emphasise the importance of the village cluster to a degree not perhaps presaged in Malinowski's accounts. A significantly high proportion of people do live in their own villages, according to sex and age patterns; but a higher proportion live in other villages of the same cluster, while the great majority of members of owning subclans in the total population sample are found to reside in their own village cluster. This we shall find to be correlated with the economic and political importance of the village cluster as a unit; in certain respects, villages will be found to be significant rather as sub-units within the cluster than as units in their own right.

c. <u>The Web of Intermarriage</u>.

The nexus of affinal linkages between subclans will now be dealt with in some detail, as it exists within villages and between subclans and villages both within and without the Omarakana cluster. We shall see that this nexus reflects the unity of the village cluster, as did the pattern of residence discussed under the last heading; but certain questions will emerge about the nature of kinship generally and marriage in particular as these are apparent in the relations of kin and local groups.

A quantitative examination will first be attempted of the relationships centering upon the formal obligations of gardening for women and their husbands. I am concerned here primarily with the nexus of affinal relations traceable through the harvest gifts as it existed at the time the data were collected in the field; such matters as divorce frequencies will be noted but not discussed in detail until later Chapters (esp. Cap V Sec. 1.). Formal affinal relations end with the termination of a marriage, whether by the death of a spouse or by divorce, and divorce frequencies or histories are not easily ascertained with any accuracy, since many individuals are unwilling to discuss such matters for personal reasons. No particular stigma attaches to divorce as such, as Malinowski showed (43), provided that the reciprocal obligations involved in the marriage are properly wound up; but fear of being thought unable to maintain a satisfactory personal, especially sexual, relationship, or of having a reputation for being difficult or quarrelsome, tends to cause divorced people to be self-conscious about their past marriages.

Unmarried Adults.

In the preceding Section, the criterion of adult status used was whether or not the individual concerned was the head of a household. All adults in this sense are of marriageable age, but not all are in fact married (cf. p. 42). Fourteen household heads in the sample are single, ten men and four women. The latter are all elderly but still independent widows. In terms of age, all four might still remarry; but two of them have moved into the

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(43) 1929, p. 125.

villages of their subclans, and this is taken as evidence of their serious intention to remain single. They are felt to have retired from the list of sexually active females and to have adopted a neutral status, fulfilling so far as possible the roles of both father and mother to the young children they have adopted. The other two widows have remained in their husbands' houses, and to this extent their status is regarded as temporary; but they have also adopted "neutral" roles in as much as each is gardening for a married daughter resident in the same village.

Five of the ten unmarried male householders are widowers. One is still fairly young and has a young son living with him, and he may remarry. The other four all have grown up families, and each gardens a certain amount for a married son or daughter. The two younger of these four widowers also garden for sister's daughters. Like the widows, these four men will probably live as they are as long as they can work and then, unless they die first, will go to live as dependants with someone for whom they are at present gardening. The other five single male household heads are all bachelors. One of them, Mwanebu, was once married, but his wife left him for the man who is now head of the Bwaydaga subclan at Omarakana. Mwanebu still lives in Tilakaiwa, where he gardens for a classificatory sister married to the garden magician of the owning subclan. He did not want to divorce his wife even though it was obvious that she had no intention of returning to him, and he has not married again. The other four bachelors, whose ages range from about 25 to about 45, have never married. Three of them live alone, as does Mwanebu, but the fourth man, Gumilobwaita of the Lobwaita subclan, lives with a younger man called Kaluboliku. This man, I was told when making the census,

is Gumilobwaita's younger brother; i.e. his father's younger brother's son. Accepting my informants' statements (I never succeeded in interviewing the young man himself) I counted Kaluboliku as a Lobwaita when taking the census. But the only Kaluboliku who appears in the genealogies is a classifacatory father of Gumilobwaita also. On finding this I made further enquiries, but met with evasiveness and denials of knowledge of the exact relationship from those most likely to know, and began to suspect an embarrassing situation; discreet enquiries as to whether this was a homosexual menage elicited strenuous denials, which may indicate that it was. By either reckoning both men are members of owning subclans in the village cluster, for Gumilobwaita's father is Siutala, of the subclan that owns Wakailua, where Gumilobwaita lives. No one gardens formally for any of these five bachelors, since they have neither wives nor children.

Four of the fifteen "other dependants" listed in Table 2 (pp. 43-44) are widowers, while one (the wife's mother's brother) is an elderly bachelor. In age he is second senior of the Lobwaita subclan of Tilakaiwa, but spent much time in his youth at the Methodist Mission Stations at Gusaweta and Sideia training to be a native pastor. Both the present headman and the garden magician of Tilakaiwa are his classificatory younger brothers. Among the other dependants are three widows and two sons' wives; the others are all unmarried children and adolescents. Some of the latter are physically mature, but they hardly count yet as confirmed bachelors or spinsters. Thus of the total population sample of 372 (Tables 4, 5 and 6), we find none to be confirmed spinsters and seven (0.02 percent of the total or 7 percent of the 95 adult males) to be confirmed bachelors.

Marriage Relations and Local Group Membership.

We shall now consider the relative frequency of intra- and extra-village and village cluster marriage. Of 86 marriages in existence at the time of the survey 18 (21 percent) were between members of two owning subclans in the five villages; 57 (66 percent) involved one spouse who was and another who was not a member of an owning subclan in the cluster; in the remaining 11 (13 percent) neither spouse was a member of an owning subclan in the cluster. Thus 87 percent of the marriages involved one member of an owning subclan at least. Fourteen of the 86 marriages were polygamous - twelve were Mitakata's and two Kureai's marriages as headman of Yolawotu. Two of Mitakata's wives were members of the two non-Mailasi owning subclans in Omarakana and Tilakaiwa villages; the remainder of Mitakata's and both Kureai's marriages were with women of non-owning subclans. Nearly all the householders both garden for and receive harvest gifts from other persons, and most of the unmarried householders garden for someone, while some of them also receive harvest gifts.

Exceptions to Gardening Rules.

I shall discuss the exceptions before examining the numbers and range of harvest transactions and the spatial distribution of local groups involved. No one had by the time of my departure been allocated to garden for the two recently married couples who were still resident in the husbands' fathers' households, or for three other couples who had set up independent households very shortly before my arrival in Kiriwina, though in the last three cases the exchange of gifts at marriage had been completed. In one of the first two cases the husband's father was a member of the

Bwaydaga subclan and a resident owner in Omarakana. His son had married a girl of the Lobwaita owning subclan of Tilakaiwa, and seemed likely to remain as a citizen in his father's village (cf. note 37 p. 48). In the other of the two cases the husband's father was the successor designate of the present headman of the Lobwaita subclan, in whose village of Tilakaiwa the son lived. Neither the son's own nor his bride's subclans were owners of any of the villages of the cluster. There was talk of building him a house in his father's village, but no decision had been reached by the time of my departure.

Two of the three newly established independent households were in Tilakaiwa also. In one the wife was a member of the Lobwaita owning subclan of the village; in the other neither spouse had rights of ownership in any village of this cluster. The third newly established household was in Omarakana. The wife in this case was a member of the Osisupa owning subclan of Wakailu, and the husband was not an owner in the cluster. In all three of these cases the vilakuria gift completing exchanges at marriage had been presented after the household was set up, at the first subsequent harvest, but it was an ad hoc presentation contributed from the main gardens of a number of the wives' kinsmen, not cultivated specifically for the husbands by their appointed representative. Of all five of these recent marriages I was told that proper representatives would be appointed by the wives' kinsmen in time to cultivate urigubu proper (44) and present it at the next main harvest - that of 1951.

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(44) Malinowski 1929, pp. 74-75; v. also below Cap. V , Sec. 1 for structural implications of these data.

In five well established marriages no one was gardening for the household at the time of my stay. This was the result in three cases of quarrels between the husband and his wife's kinsmen, who were however considered likely to resume gardening for the husband sooner or later; if they did not, divorce would ensue. No one else had taken on the task of gardening for the men or their wives in the meantime, for they were all in their prime still. In the fourth case the wife had previously run away from her husband and had only recently returned after much persuasion. As she had been away over the 1950 main harvest no one had presented the harvest gift to her husband, for he was felt to be in the wrong by the wife's kin in the quarrels which had led to her leaving him, but since she had returned her husband expected to receive the formal gift at the 1951 harvest. In this case the wife was supported by her kinsmen against her husband; in the first three, the wives had sided with their husbands against their own kinsmen. The fifth of these cases was in Yolawotu, where an elderly man of the Gawari owning subclan was married to a youngish woman of the Lobwaita subclan of Tilakaiwa. In this case the failure of the wife's kin to garden for her and her husband was by mutual consent. The wife's father was dead; her children (by her first husband) were too young to garden; and the husband's sons by his own first marriage were prevented from gardening for him by their commitments to garden for women of their own subclan, to whom they had a prior obligation. The wife's maternal kinsmen of the Lobwaita subclan, who owed her a prior obligation along with that to the other women of the subclan, had more than they could comfortably cope with in gardening for these, and the husband had agreed, out of his friendship for the Lobwaita (to whom he was himself

related in a number of ways affinally), to waive his rights at least temporarily. If one of them later found himself able to garden for him, he might do so; the chances were however that no one would so long as he remained strong, and that when he became old, one or other of his three sons by his first wife would provide for him and his wife.

No affine gardens formally for the five bachelor householders, but they are sometimes given some produce at the main harvest by their own subclansmen and fellow villagers, to compensate to some extent for their lack of married status. Of the widower householders, one, who is of high rank and lives in his "father's" village of Kasanai, is gardened for by two younger brothers of his subclan, by his own son and by a classificatory son; the multiplicity of his resources in harvest gifts reflects his high rank. Another widower, whose wife was recently dead, was gardened for by two of his sons by her; two other widowers were gardened for by one son each, and the fifth by his classificatory mother's brother. No one gardens formally for any of the four widows, but they, like the bachelors, receive harvest gifts from time to time from kinsfolk or neighbours (kovisi - 45).

On the other hand four of the householders garden formally for nobody, but only for their own domestic needs. One of these men is a stranger to the Omarakana cluster whose subclan kinswomen live too far away for practical purposes. Another man is partly blind and incapacitated; the other two cases are the results of quarrels. One of these men is also one of those who refuse to garden for an affine, and is generally recognised as a trouble

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(45) Cf. Malinowski 1935, I, pp. 190-191.

maker. In the other case the householder had quarrelled with his elder brother, so that the former refused to fulfil his gardening obligations on behalf of his subclan feeling himself wronged. This man is however still gardened for by his wife's brother; similarly in the two cases referred to on the previous page the householders continued to fulfil their own gardening obligations despite their wives' kinsmen's refusal to garden for them, since this was nothing to do with their sisters' husbands.

Normal Harvest Gift (Urigubu) Presentations.

With these exceptions every married man and single household head gardens regularly for at least one household in addition to his own, and some for two or more. Conversely, many households receive harvest gifts from more than one donor, apart from those of Mitakata and Kureai, who as polygamous notables constitute special cases. Both are gardened for by kin of each of their wives; at the main harvest of 1950 Mitakata, the Tabalu Chief, received harvest gifts from 72 different persons in respect of his twelve marriages and one betrothal, but presented gifts to only three men, husbands of women of his subclan. Kureai, the headman of Yolawotu village, received gifts from three persons in respect of his two wives, and himself presented gifts to four persons. Excluding these two, the other household heads (excepting those already mentioned) received 130 gifts and presented 117 in their turn. All these were regularly recurrent presentations, as far as I could ascertain; in addition a few irregular gifts might be presented at any harvest to widows and bachelors and others, as already mentioned; but it happened that no such gifts were presented at the main harvest of 1950. The exceptions already discussed total fourteen householders who received

no regular harvest gift (pp. 60-62) and fourteen who made none (pp. 62-63).

Tables 7 and 8 in the Appendix show respectively for the Chief (Mitakata) and for other members of the population sample the number of individuals gardening for each household of the village cluster. The Chief receives ceremonial presentations in respect of his marriages from 72 individuals, four of whom, all senior men, make two contributions each; one in respect of one of the twelve wives, and one direct to the Chief himself for his main yam store, which is named Dubilekwaiai (46). The smallest number of contributors for a given wife is 3, the largest (for his senior wife) is 12, some of whom are not subclan or even clan kin of the wife, but clan kin of Mitakata, who are classed formally for political reasons as affines of the Chief (cf. below pp. 399-400; Chapter V, Section 2). The average number of gardeners per wife is thus 6, which is also the mean in the sense that more wives (4) have six men gardening for them and the Chief than any other number. The Chief on the other hand gardens for only three men; thus he receives harvest gifts from 24 times as many men as he presents gifts to.

The remaining 84 of the total of 96 households in the cluster receive harvest gifts from 133 individuals, giving an average of 1.6 donors per household (47). The number ranges from no donors per household in 14 cases to 5 donors in one; this is the headman of the Bwaydaga subclan in Omarakana village, whose kin in Liluta - Osapola are the Tabalu's closest rivals in

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(46) Malinwoski 1935 I p. 220 and Plate 72.

(47) The households of the three men who had quarrelled with affines and received no harvest gifts at the 1950 harvest are not included in the total because it was not certain how many donors or presentations they would have received otherwise (cf. p. 62).

rank. More households - 31 - have one individual gardening for them than any other number, though two thirds as many - 21 - have two individuals gardening for them. Combining the figures for the Chief and the others, we have a total of 96 households and 205 individuals gardening for them, that is an average of just over two ceremonial gardeners per household; but the general average for Kiriwina is probably closer to that obtained when the distorting effects of counting the Tabalu Chief's donors is excluded. Thus although almost half the households other than those of the Chief receive harvest gifts from more than one person, he receives gifts from more than three times as many donors per wife than do the others on average, and this remains true even if the households of bachelors and widows, who are not entitled to regular harvest gifts, are excluded. It should be noted that the donor makes one presentation, except the four men who made two each to the Chief, in each case, but that, again with the exception of most of the men from whom the Chief receives, the same individual may count as a donor in more than one case, since a man may garden for more than one individual within the village or village cluster, as is further discussed hereunder. Moreover although the gifts are said here to be presented to households this is, as will be apparent later, a convenient way of saying that the presentations are made between representatives of affinally related corporate kingroups in respect of their formal status relations, and is not intended to imply necessarily that the primary social significance of the gifts lies in the contribution they make to the domestic needs of the households.

As already noted the Tabalu Chief, who figures in the data as the head of twelve households, receives harvest gifts from 24 times as many individuals

or households as he presents them to. This may appear anomalous unless it is borne in mind that a man's responsibilities in presenting harvest gifts are determined not by what he receives from others, especially his wife's or wives' kin, but by the number of women of his own or other subclans for whose husbands he has the responsibility of gardening on behalf of his own subclan, whose male representative in the affinal relationship he becomes in virtue of assuming this responsibility. Any physically reasonably mature male may be called upon by the members of his subclan to garden for one of its women, though married men are chosen by preference as more reliable, especially in gardening for important affines; unmarried youths are usually expected to help a mother's or an elder brother with his ceremonial gardening, but may be required to garden for a kinswoman when no older man of the subclan can do so, or may choose to do so themselves even though receiving no harvest gift from anyone. Thus no one-to-one correspondence is to be expected in principle or in practice between the number of presenters and of receivers of harvest gifts. Because of his rank and importance all the men gardening for Mitakata are married and of some seniority, but not everyone who gardens for a householder is necessarily a householder himself. Normally however only householders are gardened for, and anyone who is entitled to a regular harvest gift proper is an independent householder. But not everyone who is a household head necessarily receives such gifts; bachelors and widows have no wives' kin to garden formally for them even though they have their own households, though usually they garden for someone. The duty of caring for elderly widowers as well as widows is a personal responsibility that devolves on their children, rather than a formal obligation undertaken by the

latter as representatives of their corporate subclans (v. Chapter V, Section 2).

Bearing these points in mind, Table 8a shows the numbers of households gardened for by residents, both householders and others, of the Omarakana cluster. 84 residents are concerned, including Mitakata, who can be counted as an ordinary citizen in respect of the number of men he gardens for, and between them they make 124 presentations, while 84 householders of the cluster, not including the Chief, between them receive 133 presentations. Many of these presentations figure twice, as both received and presented harvest gifts since, as we shall see, they occur within the village cluster. The overall average of presentations per donor is thus 1.5; but if the number of households of which donors are the heads is taken into account, the Chief, who gardens for only three men though he has twelve wives, averages 0.3 presentations per household and the others about 1.6 each.

These figures show clearly that the Chief receives harvest gifts from far more individuals than he presents gifts to, and than the others receive gifts from. On the other hand he gives harvest gifts to as many men as do other senior men of the cluster; he gardens for three men himself, and four other men of the cluster also garden for three while Kureai, the Yolawotu headman, gardens for four. So far as presenting <u>urigubu</u> is concerned therefore the Chief's position is the same as that of other senior men, except that he may try to give more to each donor as a matter of his prestige than do others. The other householders however make nearly as many presentations as they receive, and most garden for more than one person.

Spatial Distribution of Harvest Gift Presentations.

As was noted pp. 67-68 persons who receive no harvest gifts themselves may present such gifts to others. Thus in Tilakaiwa village, 22 persons garden for the householders, but the latter garden for only 11 persons living in their village, all of them householders. In one case, for example, the householder receives harvest gifts from four persons; one uterine and one classificatory brother of his wife; his wife's elderly mother's classificatory mother's brother; and an adopted son about 18 years old. His wife's two brothers are both householders in Tilakaiwa; the other two donors are dependants in his own household, the old man being a confirmed bachelor and the youth as yet unmarried. This man's wife is a member of the Lobwaita subclan, and he gardens for her mother's brother because the latter is married to a woman of the same clan as his sister's daughter's husband. This link which places the householder in the position of son by clan kinship to his wife's mother's brother over-rides the latter relationship as a determinant of the direction of harvest gifts because the mother's brother is headman of the owning subclan of the village (the Lobwaita). In addition, the householder gardens for his own married daughter who lives in Wakailua.

As in this case, where householders receive urigubu from non-householders, it occurs both within villages and often within households, between householder and dependant living with him. Mostly such transactions would come under one or other of what Malinowski, in Coral Gardens, I, Cap. 6, Sec. 1, would probably regard as variants of urigubu proper. But in all such cases it will be found that an affinal link exists between donor and

recipient in respect of which the harvest gift is presented. Thus sons fill their fathers' yam stores partly out of personal regard but in doing so are contributing urigubu to one who is an affine of their subclan; as we shall see later sons are formally their fathers' affines through their mothers and wives. Such internal transactions do not affect inter-village or village cluster economy greatly, nor are the individual relationships involved structurally significant otherwise, though the persons concerned are always of different subclans. In comparing intra- and inter-village and village cluster presentations however the amounts of garden produce exchanged will be discussed later, as indicative of the structural significance of the relationships involved.

Table 9 in the Appendix shows that 28 villages in all are involved in the urigubu transactions of the Omarakana cluster householders, not counting the five villages of the cluster itself. The Chief receives gifts from 19 of these villages, but his three presentations are all to householders of the cluster. The other householders receive gifts from 19 villages outside the cluster also, ten being villages from which the Chief also receives gifts. Other residents of the cluster make presentations to residents in 13 villages outside it, not necessarily villages from which gifts are received by residents of Omarakana cluster. There is thus no regular reciprocity (48) of harvest presentations between local groups any more than between households (cf. pp. 67-68). On the other hand there are seven cases in which individual

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(48) Note that reciprocation implies here no more than that it happens in some cases that residents of two villages both give and receive harvest gifts to each other, not that there is any principle of reciprocity in harvest gift relations between local groups as such.

villages within the Omarakana cluster have reciprocal relations in this respect with villages outside it, but in three of these cases the presentations are not on a symmetrical, one-to-one, basis. But in 25 cases individual villages within the cluster have non-reciprocal harvest gift relations with villages outside it, not including the gifts received by the Chief, who reciprocates none of the gifts received from outside the cluster.

Again excluding the Chief's urigubu, it will be seen that of the nineteen villages outside the Omarakana cluster with residents of which members of the cluster have urigubu relations

2	have	ties	with	4	of	the	Omarakana	cluster	villages;
2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-

Taking the cluster as a whole, eight of its nineteen urigubu links with external villages are reciprocal, though not symmetrical in the sense that the number of transactions in both directions is the same; while in the other eleven cases the presentations are not reciprocal. If the list of villages in Table 9 be compared with Map 3, it will be seen that on the whole the villages with which the cluster has reciprocal relations in this respect tend to be those nearest to it, while those with which the relations are non-reciprocal tend to be farther away. Not all the villages listed in the table appear on the Map; those that do not are components of compound villages such as Kwaybwaga, Diaghila and Liluta. If the range of villages with which other residents of Omarakana cluster have urigubu relations is compared with that of those of the Chief as plotted on Map 3, it will be apparent that the former extends no farther north than Liluta, whereas the

latter includes most of the villages of northern Kiriwina. On the other hand, residents in the cluster garden for men as far south as Tukwa'ukwa, on the lagoon shore, and Gumilababa, both villages having junior Tabalu headmen, the former in Kulumata and the latter in Kuboma districts. Both the men who make these presentations are "strangers" in Omarakana cluster, however, who have strong personal connections with the southern villages and do not represent the normal range of affinal relationships of Omarakana cluster residents.

These, as represented in urigubu transactions, tend to be confined to a fairly restricted range of villages in close proximity to the cluster; those of its Chief, however, extend over most of Kiriwina and the south-eastern part of Tilataula Districts. The affinal relationships of Mitakata cover the range of villages and village clusters over which he could normally, in pre-European times, have expected as Tabalu Chief to establish a degree of political control, provided he were capable of exploiting the advantages of his rank and prestige. The district covered is probably the normal minimum area of his power, not the maximum; this is discussed further in Chapter V Section 5; the point for the present is that the area covered reflects the Chief's importance in the external relations of the cluster with more distant clusters. In contrast reciprocal gift relationships of the other residents in particular indicate the range of villages with which the population of the cluster could expect to maintain continuing social relationships, as expressed in the renewal of marriage ties from generation to generation between members of the local groups, in the absence of a Chief of the high rank and prestige of the Tabalu. The non-reciprocal affinal

relations of the other residents with more distant villages tend to center on non-owning residents, who are relatively highly mobile, and such urigubu transactions and the general relationships underlying them may vary considerably so far as their significance concerns local group relationships, even from harvest to harvest, although as far as the individual donors and recipients are concerned the presentations are of course regular, at least in principle, irrespective of their residence at a given harvest.

Proportions of Internal and External Harvest Gifts.

Considering further the data presented in Table 9, Table 10 analyses the gifts received and presented by the Chief and the others, separately and together, into gifts involving residents in the same village, those involving different villages of the same cluster, and those involving villages of other clusters. Taking first the gifts received by residents of the cluster, of the total of 209 presentations 76 (36 percent) are to the Chief, who receives 10 percent of all presentations made within villages, 28 percent of those between villages of the cluster and 64 percent of those from other villages. The other householders receive the remaining 64 percent; their proportion includes 90 percent of intra-village gifts, 72 percent of intra-village cluster and 36 percent of extra-village cluster presentations received. The Chief receives more than half his harvest gifts from outside the cluster, only 15 percent from other villages within it and 10 percent from his fellow villagers. The other householders on the other hand receive rather less than a quarter of their harvest gifts from outside the cluster, about the same proportion from other villages within it, and more than half, 55 percent, from other residents in their villages of residence.

On the other hand, of the gifts presented by residents in the village cluster, only three out of the total of 124 presentations are made by the Chief, and they are all to men resident in his own village. On the other hand, the proportions of the harvest presentations made by the Omarakana cluster householders within their villages of residence, to other villages within the cluster and to villages outside are about the same as the proportions of the urigubu received from these three sources - about a half within villages, and a quarter each to other villages of the cluster and to villages outside it.

Discussion of harvest gifts with my informants leads me to think that the proportions relating to the other householders are reasonably representative of the inland villages and village clusters of Northern Kiriwina generally; that is, about half the ceremonial harvest is distributed within the village, about a quarter to other villages of the same cluster, and about a quarter to villages outside it; while roughly equivalent amounts are received from such outside villages. There is always at least one subclan of relatively high rank and prestige within each cluster, and its headman is in a position analogous to that of the Omarakana Chief, though in no case is the difference between his position and that of other householders so great as in the case of Omarakana. Similar conclusions may be drawn about the spatial range of relationships implied by urigubu transactions, though again the differential factor of the pre-eminence of the Tabalu must be allowed for. Apart from this also, the external links of other village clusters may be restricted by such factors as spacial isolation from other village clusters; a relatively isolated unit is

represented by the Kuruvitu cluster in Northern Kuboma District. But generally speaking the range and numbers of the urigubu transactions of ordinary householders may be taken as comparable to those in Omarakana cluster, allowing for the effect of the rank and prestige of the leading men of different clusters as manifested in polygamy. No other village or village cluster headman or Chief has as many wives and affines cultivating such large and numerous harvest gifts for him as has Mitakata of Omarakana; the difference between his position and that of other headmen and Chiefs is however in the last analysis one of degree only.

Turning again to Table 10, it will be seen that while the Chief receives 75 percent of his urigubu from outside the cluster the other householders receive 76 percent of theirs from within it, and 82 percent of the presentations they make are to other householders of the cluster. Thus while a significant proportion (24 percent) of the urigubu received by the other householders comes from outside the cluster, the greater part entails the circulation within the cluster of main harvest crops grown by its own residents. About 50 percent of this harvest is distributed within the village of the growers, about 25 percent to other villages of the cluster, and about 25 percent to other village clusters. The fact that more outsiders give harvest presentations to the other Omarakana cluster residents than do they to outsiders is partly a matter of chance; but it also reflects to some extent their share in the prestige of the Chief, so that not only do more gifts come to them than they send out, but the gifts themselves tend, on the whole, to be bigger. But their gifts come from a relatively restricted area, while their Chief, because of his high rank and power, not

only receives more gifts from a wider and more distant range of villages than the other householders of the cluster, but also is given more garden produce in respect of each presentation.

Amounts Involved in Harvest Presentations.

Further analysis of the structural significance of the data presented is deferred to later Chapters; the last question to be examined here is that of the amounts of garden produce handled in the harvest gifts. For reasons indicated in the Introduction I was unable accurately to ascertain the amounts handled at the harvest of 1950, although I was able to find out the numbers, spatial distribution and relationships of the donors and recipients. The matter of the amounts involved was however discussed with informants, and while the claims made about the actual size of the gifts were doubtless exaggerated, there was general agreement as to the standard amounts felt appropriate, and as to variations in these amounts according to the status of primarily the recipient and to some extent the donor also. It should be remembered that the amounts distributed as urigubu do not represent the total harvest from the main gardens, a certain amount of which is always retained by the grower for use as seed yams at the next planting, and for domestic and other ceremonial purposes. In a normal season however probably up to threequarters of the main harvest is given away, and this includes the best of the crop (49).

It should also be remembered that the amounts distributed must in fact vary from harvest to harvest, according to the size of the gardens, as partly

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(49) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I, p. 230.

determined by stocks of seed yams available, and to the success or otherwise of the season. If a kayasa (50) or competitive gardening season were being held, the gardens might be up to twice the normal size and would be much more intensively cultivated than ordinarily. Given good weather during the growing season and at harvest, the crop, and the urigubu presentations made with it, might be twice or three times as big as in a non-kayasa year. On the other hand poor weather, especially lack of rain, may result even in a kayasa year in crops smaller than usual, certainly inadequate for the ceremonial gifts envisaged, and perhaps also for basic domestic requirements.

The harvest of 1950 was smaller than usual in the Omarakana and neighbouring villages, except in Kwaybwaga cluster. There a kayasa was held, but owing to poor weather and inadequate supplies of seedyams the crop was said to be no greater than a normal one in a good growing year. In the other villages of the district however the crop was, according to informants, less than half the normal size. I suspect that a kayasa should have been held in the Omarakana and other clusters also, since Mitakata had arranged a major feast for that harvest season (Cap. V). This was however denied by informants; but I think the fact was that a kayasa should have been declared but was not because it proved impossible to organise it properly in time, and it was denied that kayasa should have been held because, in spite of strenuous though unorganised efforts by some senior people, the crops were so small that they were "shamed".

The unit of measurement of the taitu or staple yams which constitute the

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(50) Cf. Malinowski, 1935, I, pp. 211 ff.

main harvest is the peta or round woven basket, which on the average will hold approximately 15 pounds of yams (51). The householder of commoner rank and average status - not a senior man, but in his prime and in good repute with the rest of the community - would expect to receive about 50 baskets from his peer in his wife's subclan in a normal year - that is in a year when gardens and crops grown were of normal size and no competitive gardening season was declared. From a dependant in his own household able to garden independently he would expect about half this amount. From a wife's father who gardened for him on behalf of his wife's subclan (which as we shall see in discussing kinship happens not infrequently) he would expect about the same amount as from his wife's kinsmen. A woman gardening for her daughter would give about half the amount, or 25 baskets.

The headman of a commoner subclan would expect to receive about twice these amounts from a commoner gardening for him, as would a junior member of a highranking subclan from a commoner wife's subclan. Where the marriage of the recipient was of some importance - e.g. if he were heir-designate or garden magician of his subclan - these amounts would be approximately doubled again; the best gardeners of a subclan are usually allotted to garden for its most important affines. A low rank headman of a village cluster might get 200-300 baskets from each of his affines in the cluster, and about the same amount from others outside it. A cluster headman of lesser chiefly rank, such as the Chiefs of Kwaybwaga or Diaghila clusters, would expect about twice this amount again, that is about 400-600 baskets

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(51) Malinowski, 1935, I, pp 392 ff: Austen, 1945, p. 19.

from a wife's kinsmen; and the highest ranking headman of all, the Tabalu of Omarakana, would expect about 500 baskets each from men of high rank or those gardening for him on their behalf, and about 300 baskets from lower ranking headmen. These may be regarded as minimal ideal expectations, and the status of the donors would affect the amounts actually given in each case. Generosity is expected of men of rank, who normally try to give as much as they can, while grading their gifts according to the rank of the recipients, as well as other factors. Thus the headman of Liluta, who gardens for Mitakata as a wife's brother, would present as much urigubu as he could over and above Mitakata's legitimate expectations; but this amount would be limited by the amounts of yams available, and the amount actually given to Mitakata in a given season would partly be limited also, in reference to this, by what the donor and his kinsmen had to give to their other affines. But the Tabalu guyau would be offended if lower ranking persons than himself received greater gifts than did he from the same source.

It will be noted that the domestic requirements of the recipients are not important as determinants of the amounts they receive at the level of the harvest gifts of Chiefs, headmen and other seniors; but this factor tends to affect the gifts made to junior men and to those who represent, in their marriage relations, relatively unimportant connections between subclans. A certain amount of urigubu received is used for domestic purposes, but some in the case of junior householders and most of that received by men of importance goes to meet their obligations in collective activities undertaken by the subclan or local group - e.g. contributions to feasts at harvest time or in connection with canoe building, and to mortuary rites etc.

If the figures given here for amounts of harvest gifts estimated according to rank etc. be compared with the figures given by Malinowski in the Appendices, Documents II, III and IV, of Coral Gardens, vol. I, it will be seen that they show a reasonable degree of correspondence. This is however greater for the figures given for commoners (Document IV) than in those for the then Chief of Omarakana, To'uluwa, whose gifts show a great range in size, perhaps because of the kayasa season in which they were made, if it was the case that the competitive harvest was not universal throughout Kiriwina; if so those living in villages not taking part would not contribute more than in an ordinary year. If the summarised figures given at the bottom of Page 395 be examined, it will be seen that the average of what Malinowski called Genuine urigubu (A) is 270 baskets per donor; other tables show that the amounts involved range from over 1,000 down to 50 baskets in this category. If the average for all urigubu is taken, the figure of 160 baskets per donor is obtained. This appears lower than would be expected were the figures for estimated gifts I obtained accurate; but in fact it would probably be safe to assume that the ideal proportions for men of rank are by no means always attained in practice, though they may provide targets at which the gardeners do in fact aim. But the Kiriwinan is chronically addicted to exaggerating both his aims and achievements in gardening for reasons of prestige; and since my informants were of the Omarakana cluster it is probable that as loyal supporters of and sharers in the prestige of their Chief they exaggerated the difference between his urigubu expectations and those of other cluster headmen. Malinowski's figures are closer to what my informants said were the expectations of

lower ranking chiefs and headmen.

But the numbers of men and the distribution of their villages is closely comparable to the data given by Malinowski in the same Documents. The next Section will be devoted to the recapitulation and further analysis of some of the figures already given, and the range of kinship ties involved will be discussed later (Chapter V). On this point I shall content myself with repeating here that essentially all the types of urigubu distinguished by Malinowski in these Documents and elsewhere in Coral Gardens are to my mind to be regarded as urigubu proper because, whatever the relationship of the donor to the Chief and the specific motivations in making the gift (which are the criteria by which Malinowski differentiates the various types of urigubu), the gift is always phrased and regularised in terms of affinal relationships of some sort or other, and this, as Malinowski shows, is the essence of urigubu to the Kiriwinans.

Section 3. Summary and Conclusions.

In this Chapter have been examined the ties of kinship and affinity as manifested in the spatial distribution of members of clans and subclans resident in the five villages of Omarakana, Kasanai, Tilakaiwa, Yolawotu and Wakailua, and in the range and number of the harvest gifts they present and receive. Two points in particular emerge from the analysis of the figures given; the first is the importance of the village cluster in the relationships of the inhabitants of the component villages. This is apparent in a tendency for the majority of members of the subclans with rights of ownership in one or other village of the cluster to reside, not necessarily in their own as against other villages of the cluster, but in

the cluster as against other village clusters, and is confirmed by the tendency for their affinal relationships, as expressed in harvest gift presentations, to be concentrated within the village cluster in all cases other than that of the Chief. The preponderance in his case of ties with residents in villages of other clusters itself evinces the importance of his position in the external relationships of the cluster he heads.

Nevertheless all villages in fact have some residents with some affinal ties to villages outside the cluster, apart from those of the Chief, and their relative infrequency is not necessarily an index of their relative importance in the relations, particularly economic, of the groups concerned; this point perhaps requires further examination. Despite the higher proportion of intra- as against extra-village cluster harvest gifts, the figures presented in Tables 9 and 10 show that in a significant majority of marriages (79 percent) one of the spouses is not a citizen of any village of the Omarakana cluster; i.e. his or her subclan has rights of ownership in a village of another cluster. These marriages therefore involve affinal ties with villages outside the Omarakana cluster, while Table 3 shows that 20 of the 39 subclans listed are represented in the cluster by adults of both sexes. Members of these 20 subclans are concerned in 63 out of the total of 86 marriages in the cluster.

The remaining 19 subclans are represented by adults of either sex only, not of both. The representatives of these subclans total only 23, of whom 18 are wives, ten of these being wives of the Chief who, because of his political importance, is a special case. Only eight wives of men other than he have no adult male member of their own subclans resident in the

village cluster. Of necessity therefore the affinal ties of these women's husbands are with villages other than those of the Omarakana cluster. For reasons which are later discussed (Cap. II, Secs. 2 and 3), which derive from the effects of personal relationships and from consideration of expediency in the organisation of the affairs of the subclans concerned, there is a strong tendency whenever men and women of a given subclan live close to one another for the men to garden formally for the women and their husbands irrespective of the nature of the kinship relation between them. This is often, but not always, a close relationship; thus a man who as an adult contimues to reside in his father's village often undertakes to garden for his father, thereby relieving his mother's brother of this responsibility. If his sister marries in the same locality he may also garden for her, or their father might undertake to do so on his behalf, since he himself would already be gardening for the father, or if the sister left the locality on marriage another man of her subclan living nearer her new home might undertake to garden for her. In fact the number of members of each sex of a given subclan resident in a given locality is usually uneven, so that when the subclan is a non-owning one of the locality either one or more of the women receive harvest gifts from "brothers" in other localities, or one or more of the men garden for a "sister" living in another village cluster. The chances are therefore that a marriage involving a spouse with no rights of ownership in the village cluster involves also one or more harvest gift presentations to or from residents of other clusters; that is, it entails exchanges of goods and services between residents in different village clusters, usually neighbouring ones.

Although the number of such presentations is small, their importance is relatively great, since they ensure that at least some garden produce and services are obtained from people living outside the cluster apart from the affines of the Chief. This may be related to the chances of recurrent local shortages of garden produce discussed in the first Section of Chapter I, and to the fact that within the range of villages between which more or less regular economic and other social intercourse takes place production tends to be homogeneous, so that barter or trade would be unreliable as means of obtaining food at times of shortage. The Chief's wider affinal relationships, which are primarily political matters (Chapter V, Sec. I) and as such are contingent upon his status and prestige, might not prove reliable under stress of hardship or political adversity; for in the last analysis what determines whether and how much urigubu is presented is the amount available at at its source, and neighbours might be more generous than potential political rivals in hard times.

Secondly, while, as in Omarakana, the harvest gifts received by very pre-eminent village or cluster headmen or Chiefs may overshadow in bulk and importance that received by other residents, where the leading man is of lower rank or lesser importance the gifts he receives, and the relationships they symbolise, though more numerous and important than those of other residents individually, may be less numerous and important than theirs collectively. We may regard the relationships whereby others than Chiefs and headmen receive and present harvest gifts as part of a system through which the greater part of the main harvest is redistributed annually between residents in the same and in adjacent localities (cf. Table 10). The garden

produce thus circulated may be considered as representing the normal consumer requirements of the population in respect of what Malinowski would call both primary and secondary, or culturally determined, needs. This redistribution leaves each householder and group in possession of roughly the same amount of foodstuffs as he and they gave away, so that it can hardly be regarded as a profitmaking system; but it is to be noted that the main harvest and its redistribution take place at the end of the Southeaster season, during which as we have seen the risk of local failures of crops through unreliable rainfall is greatest. Thus the kinship relations of the population may be said to have economic "insurance value", especially those involving different village clusters.

The greater part of the urigubu received by an important village cluster Chief or headman, however, is not reciprocated by produce of his own, and may to this extent be regarded as a surplus over and above the individual consumer requirements of the population, which is made available through the Chief for the underwriting of communal undertakings through which it is redistributed to the community at large. Essentially the position of the Trobriand Chief is thus no different from that of his counterparts in mainland New Guinea. The area from which he draws the surplus in this way depends, as we shall see in Chapter V, upon his rank and power.

For the importance of Trobriand kinship relationships, of which the urigubu transactions are a manifestation, is not only economic, either in the case of Chiefs or in that of the remainder of the population. Indeed it is probably only in poor gardening seasons, when a village or cluster is short of food, that the urigubu received is valued primarily for its use in

immediate domestic consumption, although its importance in this respect is significant in considering the general nature of the system of circulation. Harvest gifts are also overt and tangible manifestations of ties of kinship, in particular of affinal, relationships, in terms of which not only economic but also political and other forms of interaction are regulated and organised. For while as we shall see it is within the context of local groups that such interaction takes place, kinship provides the defining and regulating principles of the various modes of interaction, not membership of local groups as such; membership of the corporate group represented by the population of a village is itself phrased and regularised in terms of kinship.

The data presented in this Chapter, then, by showing the concentration of ties of certain sorts within the village cluster, have emphasised its importance as a social unit under its Chief. At all points in the discussion kinship has appeared in various forms as the vehicle of such relationships, and in the next Chapter we shall begin an examination and analysis of the kinship system. This examination of the pattern of settlement has in fact been carried out in terms of analysis of the frequencies of residence in and intermarriage between villages, either directly or through the intermediacy of urigubu transactions. In no other way could it have been done adequately, and this emphasises the importance of kinship in the Trobriand social system; not only in the lives of individuals, but also as a means of imparting regularity and continuity to their formal relations with each other and to the formal relationships of the population generally. To this extent it may be said that while the kingroup, subclan or clan, can be defined, and

the system of related statuses of which it is composed can be differentiated meaningfully, without reference to local grouping, the latter can only be analysed in terms of kinship, in particular of affinal relationships between kingroups.

Chapter II

Kinship and the Individual

In this Chapter the analysis will be focussed upon the relationships of the members of the Lobwaita subclan of Tilakaiwa village with one another, with the other residents in the village and with other members of their subclan resident in other villages. The Lobwaita subclan is to be considered partly because I lived at their village most of the time I was in Kiriwina and therefore knew its residents and their relationships better than any others; partly because it is the biggest and in some ways most important commoner subclan in the cluster, which was one reason why I took up residence at the village, while since Tilakaiwa is a simple village with only the one owning subclan it presents a simpler and more convenient analytical situation than the other villages I knew well.

The relation between subclan members in joint or compound villages is essentially similar to that between members of owning subclans in different villages of the same cluster, though modified in intensity by the factor of common residence, which has the effect of uniting members of different subclans in corporate village activities to some extent; this does not normally however lead to loss of the subclans' formal individuality. Both Omarakana and Yolawotu are joint villages; the latter is probably more typical of this type of village, since in the former the relationships of residents are rendered rather atypical by the presence of the Tabalu Chief. In Yolawotu two subclans share ownership of the village and garden lands; each subclan's members tend to occupy adjacent houses on the village site, other residents' households being intermingled with little reference to their

relationships with the two owning subclans. The whole population combines into a single team for gardening purposes. By contrast, Kasanai village is divided into two named sectors (p. 48), in each of which the members of the two owning subclans have their houses, while the dependants or adherents of members of each owning subclan have houses in the appropriate sector. Like the Yolawotu population, however, the residents of both sectors of Kasanai combine as a single team for gardening and for other purposes, although in both cases the ownership of individual fields and plots is vested in the subclans separately and their members individually.

All the villages of the cluster appear to be smaller today than they were in pre-European times. Malinowski noted this in the case of Omarakana, which seems further to have decreased in size since his time. This is probably the result of European influences - not so much as causing any serious loss of population, which as we saw in Chapter I appears to have remained remarkably constant at least over the last fifty years, but rather as bringing about its redistribution to some extent. It seems that some drift of population has taken place from the inland villages of northern Kiriwina toward the lagoon villages and the neighbouring districts. Two major influences can be discerned in this process; firstly the dimimution in the power and influence of the Tabalu and other inland village Chiefs through the restraints placed upon them by European administrators, and secondly the increased economic as well as political importance of the lagoon villages, near which European residents, traders and missionaries as well as government officials, have set up their establishments. Pearl fishing in particular seems to have attracted people to the lagoon from the inland

villages during the period of its flourishing, and many stayed on even after it tailed off owing to the slump of the 1930's. This is further referred to in Chapter V however; it is sufficient to note here that precisely because Omarakana village and cluster were the seat of the most important Chief of the Islands it probably had a greater concentration of population than other villages and clusters in pre-European times, and consequently stood to lose a greater proportion of its population than others also.

Section 1. The Subclan in its Own Village.

The population of Tilakaiwa village was in 1950 60 persons (cf. Tables 1 and 3, Map 5 and Genealogy 1 in the Appendix where the numbers alongside the names on the Map correspond to those on the Genealogy, indicating the relations of the owners of the houses and yam stores). There were 16 households, each occupying one of the separate dwelling houses around the ceremonial "square" (baku). The heads of seven of these households - nos. 4-10 inclusive on the Map - are men of the Lobwaita owning subclan, which belongs to the Lukuba clan; the kinship relations of other household heads with these men will first be discussed.

Households 1, 2 and 15 are those of men of the Kauoma subclan of Mailasi clan. All three are sons of no. 16, Mikalai, who married successively two daughters of the garden magician Nasibowai, who has long been dead, but whom Malinowski well knew (1). Nasibowai was a member of the Ilaolabuma subclan, now extinct, the owners of Kupwakopula village site.

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(1) Malinowski 1935, I, v. Index.

Mikalai's subclan owns Moligilagi village, but he stayed on in Tilakaiwa after his father-in-law's death, by which time both his daughters by his first wife had married men of the Lobwaita subclan. The elder daughter married Touladoga, the present garden magician of Tilakaiwa, successor to Nasibowai; her younger sister married Miolaku, of the Lobwaita subclan, who lives in Yolawotu, his father's village. Mikalai's eldest son Mwanebu (no. 2) is the man who did not remarry after his first wife deserted him (p. 58). He lives in Tilakaiwa gardening for Touladoga, his sister's husband. Mokaivau, Mikalai's elder son by his second wife, has married a woman of the Lobwaita subclan, and her brother Kaivaguli gardens for him. Kaivaguli returned to Tilakaiwa to live while I was staying there, from Gusaweta, where he had been working for the Lumleys. His younger brother Puluwaywo (no. 15) also gardens for Mokaivau, who in turn gardens for his father Mikalai and for his classificatory sister's husband Miolaku, for whom Mwanebu also gardens in addition to Touladoga; Mwanebu is a keen and expert gardener and his reputation as such compensates him to some extent for his lack of a wife. Puluwaywo, who married a few months before my arrival in Kiriwina, receives urigubu as yet from no one, for it had not yet been decided which member of his wife's subclan which owns Liluta village should garden for him.

Of the remaining non-owner householders, no. 3 is the brother of the wife of no. 4 (Tomiyala, who is an owner of the village), and gardens for him. No. 3 asked and was allowed to live in the village in virtue of this relationship. His father lived in Omarakana, where he was a son of a member of the Tabalu subclan, until he became too old to garden, when he

went to live in Liluta, the village of his wife's and his children's subclan, taking his young family with him. Thus when Mokawokala (no. 3) came to Tilakaiwa to live on his marriage he was in fact returning to a village and people he had known well in his childhood, as did his sister. His younger brother also came to live as a dependant in his household. Their father was a member of the Gawari owning subclan of Yolawotu, and its members are thus Mokawokala's "fathers". His own subclan is Bwaydaga of Lukwasisiga clan which, as we have seen (pp. 50-51), has rights of ownership in Omarakana as well as Liluta, so that Mokawokala and his brother and sister have kin and affines in three of the Omarakana cluster villages.

Tebe'i, no. 11 on the list of householders on Map 5, is married to a woman of the Lobwaita owning subclan, and is gardened for by her brother Daibuna, no. 10. No. 13, Negidageda, also gardens for Tebe'i, whose wife is his "sister", their father being the same though their mothers were of different subclans of the Lukuba clan. Negidageda is thus also a clan "pseudokinsman" of the men of the owning subclan, and lives in their village in virtue of this relationship. He also gardens for Mitakata, as he is a mother's brother of one of the Chief's wives. Negidageda's wife's brother, Mtukwapwapu (no. 12) gardens for his sister's husband. The brother and sister are members of the Osisupa subclan which owns Wakailua village in Omarakana cluster, and their classificatory mother lives in her "daughter's" household. No one gardens for Mtukwapwapu, for his wife's kinsmen live at Okopukopu, which is too far away to permit easy transport of urigubu, while they do not think his marriage sufficiently important to make the extra effort.

Finally, no. 14, Gumisakapu, is married to an elder sister of the wife

of Daibuna, no. 10, who is heir designate to the headship of the Lobwaita subclan. Daibuna's wife has given Gumisakapu's a daughter. Gumisakapu gardens for Mitakata who, according to Gumisakapu, is the husband of an adopted mother of Gumisakapu; others, however, said that it was because he was the brother of the woman. She is in fact a considerably younger sister of Gumisakapu's own mother, for whom he gardened until she died. After this, Mitakata requested him to garden for his wife, who is Gumisakapu's classificatory mother. But the two are much of an age, and because he gardens for her, most people class them as "brother and sister" rather than as "mother and son". Gumisakapu's wife is of the owning subclan of Kaulagu, and her father and Gumisakapu's younger brother who live there garden for him, as does her brother, who lives at Kabulula. Gumisakapu himself is a member of the Sakapu subclan of the Lukwasisiga clan.

The wives of the residents in the village are, with the exception of two who belong to the Lobwaita subclan and two members of the Kaibola subclan of the Mailasi clan, unrelated to each other except through their husbands. The two Lobwaita women are classificatory sisters; the two others are mother and daughter. The mother is the wife of Miolaku, a Lobwaita man living in Yolawotu. Her daughter Bomakwasi is married to Toginigini, no. 8 on the map and genealogy, who is a classificatory sister's son of Miolaku (actually his mother's mother's classificatory sister's daughter's daughter's son). Toginigini is thus married to his classificatory maternal cross cousin (v. Section 3). The other wives are "strangers" to each other and to the village, though four of them are members of subclans owning other villages of the cluster.

There is one other married couple in the village - the son of Daibuna, no. 10, and his wife. At the time the data were obtained they were newly married and still resident in Daibuna's house, but were going to set up an independent household in the village when arrangements had been made by Daibuna. Toulogu is Daibuna's son by his first wife, now dead, who was of the Wabari subclan, Lukwasisiga clan. Daibuna's second wife is of Waibitu subclan, Mailasi clan. Toulogu is of course of his mother's subclan, the Wabari whose village is now abandoned and the members of the subclan scattered. Indeed I heard of no living members other than Toulogu and his young brother Mwawesi who also lives in Daibuna's household. Should they for any reason be forced to leave Tilakaiwa, as To'uluwa's son Namwana Guyau was formally expelled from Omarakana (2), they would have to fall back on the "charity" of their mother's mother's husband's subclan of Kaulikwau village. They are both likely to remain in their father's village after marriage, unless they move to that of a wife. On the other hand, they have become the "children" of Daibuna's second wife, and were they diligent in attentions to her kinsmen might in this way gain entry to her village in time. This would not be possible however if they were formally driven out of Tilakaiwa, since it would brand them as undesirables.

These data will not be analysed here in detail from the point of view of formal kinship, which will be dealt with in Chapter III; they are presented here rather as illustrative of the network of dyadic ties binding together the members of a reasonably typical village. Certain points will

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(2) Malinowski, 1929, pp. 10-13.

however be made before going on to examine the relationships of the remaining members of the Lobwaita subclan.

Firstly it will be apparent that all the non-owners reside in the village as kinsmen or affines of some kind of members of the owning subclan. As often as not the factors which decide a man to live in a village other than that of his own subclan are personal, such as a particular friendship with one or other resident of the village, or some personal advantage he hopes to gain through residence in it. In some cases political factors involving the formal relationships between subclans also determine residence. But whatever the motive in the particular instance, a kinship link is sought and used to provide a valid basis of incorporation into the village, and the link is always of such a kind that it imposes upon the "stranger" obligations to contribute, directly or indirectly, to the resources of the owning subclan. He contributes directly as a member of its gardening team, and by participating in other productive activities and contributing to feasts etc. He contributes indirectly by accepting obligations to garden for one or other of the owning subclan's members or on their behalf for someone for whom they have to provide garden produce.

The kinship links operate in such cases as contracts, the person seeking residence acknowledging by his evocation of the link the obligations involved as well as asserting his claim upon the owners of the village, who, in turn, by their acknowledgement of the link recognise the right of the stranger to enjoy the rights of residence in the village, including that of sharing in its collective resources, so long as he observes his obligations. Personal factors enter into the relationship both at the

stage of gaining entry, when they partly determine both the individual's decision to seek residence in a particular village and its owners' reaction to his wish; and at all later stages also, in so far as the stranger is ultimately dependent on the owners' good will for his continued residence, and they on his if they are to retain him as a useful member of their village. But personal good will is not enough in itself; the position must be regularised through a kinship "contract".

The position of wives in turn depends ultimately on that of their husbands and on their own contracts of marriage. Here also the contractual element is basic, although the personal factor in marriage is even more significant than in the kinship ties in virtue of which male non-owners live in the village. The man's kinship contract and personal ties may not depend specifically upon a single relationship. In marriage, however, while the contract involves both husband's and wife's subclans, personal ties and the contract itself are uniquely focussed on the individuals concerned, though they may also be affected by the husband's and his wife's personal relationships with other members of their respective subclans.

Section 2. <u>The Subclan as a Corporate Unit</u>.

The interrelationships of the members of the Lobwaita subclan will be examined in this Section, though not in as great detail in all cases as has been given for those resident in their own village of Tilakaiwa. Here the subclan will be dealt with as a whole, individual members being cited as examples when necessary. Essentially the position of members of the subclan resident in other villages is similar to that of the "strangers" resident in Tilakaiwa.

The Lobwaita number 72 recorded living persons, of whom 14 are resident in Tilakaiwa, their own village, 39 in other villages of Omarakana cluster and 19 outside it. Their distribution approximates to the average for all the subclans investigated, though there are rather fewer of the Lobwaita living in their own village and rather more in other villages of the cluster than in many cases. (Cf. Tables 3-5, Genealogy 1, in Appendix). If we consider the genealogy, it will be seen that, like most commoner genealogies, it covers only four generations with any accuracy. No precise relationship is postulated between the oldest remembered human members and their mythical ancestors. Indeed there was some divergence of opinion among the older men about the precise content of the myth of origin, and not all were in agreement even about the relationship of the emergent ancestors to each other.

As the figures (Table 3) show, the Lobwaita are at present the strongest single subclan numerically in the cluster and the vagueness as to the myth of origin may be related to this, in as much as it seems the subclan's rights to land etc. have never recently been challenged. If they should be, I was assured, the senior men would put their heads together and "recall" the relevant myths well enough; but it seems that my enquiries were, regrettably, not sufficiently challenging to provoke so desirable a reaction. It may be noted in passing that when a dispute occurred between members of the two owning subclans of Yolawotu over rights to a name, the discussion which took place before Mitakata consisted largely in argument between the senior men concerned about the precise content of each others' myths, in the course of which the myths underwent a certain amount of readjustment. Presumably the content and interpretation of myths could

similarly be modified to reflect changes in other relationships of the various subclans.

Depth of Genealogy.

I was, albeit with much hesitancy on the part of my informants, able to obtain a few names in the next ascending generation from the genealogy as presented. The Kiriwinan commoner apparently loses interest in the relationships and personalities of his ancestors at and beyond this depth. The resultant uncertainty is added to by the practice of re-using names, frequently in alternate and sometimes in proximal generations, or in the same family of siblings, if someone dies prematurely. This is connected with beliefs in reincarnation of spirit children (3), but the procedure is in no way systematic, and leads to a tendency to confuse the relationships and personalities of individuals bearing the same name among both the dead and the living. The genealogy as presented covers the range of individuals recalled more or less spontaneously by my informants, and in whom they showed some degree of interest. Beyond this range the relationships of individual ancestors have little or no social significance. I could not even ascertain with any certainty the name of the last headman of the subclan and village. He was probably a "mother's brother" of Monumadoga, the present headman, and his contemporaries; three men, who might or might not all have been of the same generation, were variously recalled as being the "real" headman, and it was only Monumadoga and his contemporaries who could recall their names at all. This reflects both the semi-official

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(3) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 145 ff.

nature of traditional village headmanship, as against the status of a Chief, and the fact that not even headmanship is enough to perpetuate the memory of an individual commoner beyond the third descending generation.

The oldest men of the village were Tomupoi of the Lobwaita subclan and Mikalai, no. 16 on genealogy and map (v. pp. 90-91). Tomupoi was living in the household of his sister's daughter's son (tabu) Daibuna, no. 10, where he died in 1951. Both he and Mikalai appeared to be about 70 years old, and owing to senility were of little use as informants. There were no other living members of their generation, but four women of it were remembered. They were the mothers or mothers' mothers of living members of the subclan, but, beyond the fact that they were "sisters", their precise relationships to each other were unknown even to their children. Whether or not they were uterine sisters appeared quite unimportant to my informants, nor was any particular significance attached to their relative seniority, although it was generally agreed that Bomilaboyowa was the eldest and that the others followed in order as they appear in the genealogy. The names and subclans of their husbands were not spontaneously recalled either, and I was unable definitely to establish them in two cases. Marriages set up no permanent special relations between subclans unless they are repeated in successive generations, and where this is the case the relationships with which the living are concerned are those that result from the later, not the earlier, marriages. Even in the case of living persons no special relationship other than a personal one between individuals is maintained with the subclans of their deceased spouses once the mortuary rituals are completed. The death of such aged widows or widowers is

attended by only exiguous rites for it results in no severance of existing formal relationships between subclans. On the other hand, politically important affinal ties, as with headmen or Chiefs, tend to be renewed from generation to generation, and even before existing marriages end, or before the husband or his wife's brothers become too old to play an active part in their subclans' affinal relationships.

Affinal Relationships with Tabalu Chiefs.

It will be seen from Genealogy 1 that Kadumiyu, a classificatory sister's daughter of Monumadoga, the present headman of Tilakaiwa, is married to Mitakata the Omarakana Chief. Monumadoga and his younger brother To'uladoga, the garden magician, both garden for her. Four of her "brothers" also garden for her :- Daibuna, Monumadoga's heir designate, and Giovadala, who both live in Tilakaiwa; and Mokaimwau and Tomanum, who live in Omarakana and Kasanai respectively. Mitakata is genealogically of the generation of Tonupoi, Monumadoga's mother's brother, but is some years younger than he. He married Kadumiyu when he succeeded To'uluwa in 1930. To'uluwa was married to Boutukema (4), who survived him by a few years. She was the second wife he took from the Lobwaita subclan, and therefore married her "brother-in-law", while Kadumiyu, when she married To'uluwa's younger brother Mitakata, was marrying her "father" (cf. Section 3). Similarly To'uluwa married two women of the Bwaydaga subclan who were "mother" and "Daughter" to each other, and Mitakata is married to their classificatory daughter's daughter and daughter. In all these cases the

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(4) Malinowski, 1935, I, pp. 395, 408, 417.

women were marrying classificatory "fathers". The significance of this with regard to the kinship system will be reverted to later; here it is desired to emphasise the way in which the relationships between the subclans concerned are renewed. A new Chief upon his succession sets about obtaining wives from the subclans of his predecessors' affines, if he has none already; there is no apparent tendency to prefer lineal descendants of his predecessor's wives, and any woman of the subclans concerned is eligible in this respect.

Unimportance of Genealogical Lineages.

As was noted earlier, the only named women in the eldest generation of the genealogy are those with living lineal descendants. The genealogical relationships of these women are unknown and are not regarded as important. Nor does the fact that their descendants constitute de facto lineages have apparent structural significance as such. The temporary localisation of the children of a woman necessarily affects their personal relationships with other members of their subclan, especially if her husband's village is some distance from that of her brothers, and this factor always affects the organisation of the subclans' affinal relationships; but the localised groups are temporary, tending to break up on the marriages of the children, and do not appear to constitute recognised elements in the formal structure of the subclans.

If we take the lineal descendants of Bomilaboyowa as an example, we see that her eldest daughter died without issue. Her son Motaipu, who became the oldest man of the subclan on the death of Tonupoi, has always been handicapped by his personality, and has never married or played a full part

in the subclan's affairs otherwise. He is a poor and unenthusiastic gardener and has never assumed responsibility for any of the subclans regular urigubu obligations. For some time he has been acting as a rather inefficient general factotum in a trader's store near Omarakana (Map 4).

Bomilaboyowa's daughter Kaulabaku died in 1951. She lived with her husband Moyola in Omarakana, where their children grew up. Moyola (Omarakana no. 20, Map 5) is a member of the Obukula subclan, Mailasi clan, who have rights of ownership in Yogwabu (Kasanai). He is a classificatory father of Geumwala, Mitakata's senior wife, for whom he gardens. Of Kaulabaku's children, the three sons have married and remained in Omarakana. Botaoli, her eldest daughter, married a man of Wakailua, where she lives. Bomlaina, the younger daughter, married Mokaivau (p.*91*), and lives with him in Tilakaiwa, her subclan's village. Kaulabaku's eldest son Mokaimwau, resident in Omarakana, gardens for his classificatory sister Kadumiyu, one of Mitakata's wives (p. 100), not for either of his uterine sisters, though they also live in the Omarakana cluster. His obligations to the subclan override any personal preferences he may have had to garden for either of his own sisters. Bwabwau, his younger brother, gardens for their father, and for Vanoi, Mitakata's heir designate, who is married to Bwabwau's eldest daughter. This marriage involves a breach of clan exogamy, both Vanoi and his wife being Mailasi, though his subclan is Tabalu and hers Mokaraybida. Bwabwau was in bad odour with his affines, especially his daughter's classificatory brothers, for permitting the marriage against their wishes, and they had refused to garden for the girl. She had no uterine brothers old enough to garden for her out of personal affection

despite the disapproval of the rest of their subclan. The marriage was also opposed by Mitakata, and his inability to prevent it is a measure of the present weakness of his position. He tried to bring pressure to bear on Bwabwau through the Lobwaita senior men through his influence as their affine, and consequently Bwabwau is out of favour with his wife's and his own subclans and with the Chief as well.

Yobwima, Kaulabaku's third son, used to garden for his elder brother Bwabwau, before the events outlined above, since Bwabwau was gardening for their father. Because of this trouble he now gardens directly for their father instead. Kaivaguli, Kaulabaku's youngest son, returned from Gusaweta, where he had been working as a houseboy, to live in his own village of Tilakaiwa in 1950. There he gardens for his uterine sister Bomlaina and her husband (p. 91). He is on close personal terms with them both, and gardened for them by choice even when he lived at Gusaweta.

Botaoli, Kaulabaku's eldest daughter, living in Wakailua, has with her husband brought up eleven children. Two of their grown up sons now garden for them, having taken over from their mother's brother rather earlier than sons usually do because six of their elders in the subclan are gardening for Mitakata. (This is one of the factors which often facilitates the continuing residence of sons in their fathers' villages, as we shall see later). One of Botaoli's sons gardens also for an uterine sister who lives with her husband at Yolawotu. The remaining son is the bachelor Gumilobwaita (v. p. 58). Their second sister has been divorced and lives in her father's sister's household at Moligilagi, together with one of her young brothers who was adopted by the father's sister. No one gardens for

her, nor for her younger sister who in 1950 had recently married the son of one of the Bwaydaga men living in Omarakana. In the latter case no one had been allocated to garden for the newly married couple at that time. Of Botaoli's five remaining children three were still living in her household, while one girl had been adopted by Botaoli's mother Kaulabaku, and one boy was living in the household of his eldest sister Isowai, in Yolawotu. Isowai is in fact "old enough to be his mother".

Thus all the members of this line of descent, with the exception of the woman and boy in Moligilagi, live in their own village cluster, if not in the village of their subclan. The adults interact almost equally intensively whether they live in the same village or in others of the cluster. All share equally effectively in the corporate affairs of their subclan, though they are members of the units of consumption and production of their villages of residence also. On the other hand their lineage is not a territorially distinct unit, being scattered at present, and when the children grow up they also will largely be redistributed among the villages, according to the rules of residence at marriage. While the women will go to live with their husbands the men have greater choice. Kaulabaku's three sons have stayed on in the village where they grew up, but were their father to die, Mokaimwau would probably stay on because he gardens for the Chief. Bwabwau would also probably stay, at any rate so long as he remains <u>persona non grata</u>, because of his daughter's marriage, with his own kinsmen. The youngest son Yobwima, however, would probably go to Tilakaiwa to live, for he is closer in age to Daibuna and his brother and is more friendly with them than with his uterine brothers. He might in fact move to Tilakaiwa

before his father's death.

If however their father lives so long that their own contemporaries and friends in Tilakaiwa die, or are superseded in control of subclan affairs, the brothers might well remain in Omarakana after their father's death. But when they die or leave the village, their lineage will no longer be represented there, unless children of their uterine sisters marry or move into the village later. But the personal ties of the sisters' children will be with their own natal villages or those into which they marry, not with their mothers' brothers' village of residence as such. Meanwhile other Lobwaita women are married to men of Omarakana, where their children are growing up, so that the subclan will continue to be represented in that village though by others than the lineal descendants of Kaulabaku.

Thus lineal descent from individual members of the subclan has no formal significance as a determinant of marriage or of residence as such, and the members of such lineages do not constitute a formal division within the subclan, which is itself the unit of continuity in these respects. But the members of the subclan co-resident in a given village at a given time are differentiated from the remainder of its members by this fact, as a result of more intensive interaction with each other than with the others, and because the residents in each village share together in its corporate life. Nevertheless they remain fully members of the corporate subclan also, and residence in different villages in no way moderates their formal status as such, although if the villages are distant it will necessarily affect the degree to which they can participate actively in their subclan's affairs. Within a village cluster such as that of Omarakana at least, the villages

are in fact so close together that residence in different villages hardly affects the members of the subclan in their interaction with each other, any more than it does their formal status.

Residence as a Factor in Subclan Membership.

Thus the Lobwaita men resident in Omarakana belong to the gardening team of that village, and take part in its joint enterprises under the leadership of the Tabalu, in virtue of their rights and responsibilities as residents, which in turn derive from their status as affines of the Chief. At the same time they participate fully on all occasions when their subclan figures as a corporate group vis-a-vis other subclans. These are primarily in ceremonial or ritual and jural matters which affect and determine the formal status of the members of the subclan, both as such and thus, directly or indirectly, as residents in the different villages. Let us consider examples of each type of situation.

When new canoes were being built for the kula of 1951, one was built for the Tabalu and another for the Lobwaita subclans. In each case the enterprise was organised by men resident in the subclans' own villages, Mitakata being the "owner" (5) and organiser of the building of the Tabalu canoe, and Daibuna, the heir-designate to the headship of the subclan and its village, in the case of the Lobwaita canoe. As members of the village, the Lobwaita resident in Omarakana contributed yams for the feasting of the builders of the Tabalu canoe, and, as affines of Mitakata, they assisted in building it also. They also contributed yams to the feasting of the

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(5) Malinowski, 1922, pp. 117-120.

builders of Daibuna's canoe in Tilakaiwa, and occasionally lent a hand with its construction, but most of the work they did was on that of Mitakata. In return they had the right to claim seats in his canoe rather than in Daibuna's, although the actual selection of crews was not determined only by these factors. Some persons who helped build one or other of the canoes were ineligible (as e.g. women) or did not want to sail on kula; others not resident in either village joined in the building, as affines etc. of Mitakata or Daibuna, and were taken into the crews. At the ceremonial food distribution on the beach (tasasoria - 6), held to signalise the incorporation of the crews and the fleet during the assembling of the canoes, the Lobwaita of Omarakana contributed to the ceremonial yam containers of Mitakata, thereby signalling their status as members of the crew of his canoe. In short, the members of the work team of a village who by sex and status are eligible to go on kula normally do so in the canoe of the owning subclan of the village. Otherwise they seek to attach themselves by affinal or kinship ties to the canoe of another village or subclan, and participate in building and other activities connected with it accordingly.

Local and Kingroup Corporate Activities.

The kula, like the other corporate economic and political (in olden days e.g. warfare) activities of local groups, is a situation in which the existing formal relations of kinship grouping operate, providing the means in ultimate reference to which such activities are organised and regulated.

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(6) Ibid, pp. 146 ff.

Membership of villages is, as we have seen, formulated in terms of subclan and affinal kinship. The corporate activities of subclans may be said primarily to relate on the other hand to situations in which formal kinship relations are adjusted, or in which the unity of kin groups and the principles of social structure and organisation involved in that unity are expressed and safeguarded. Perhaps the clearest of such situations, and the most important in Trobriand social organisation, are on the one hand marriage, especially the urigubu institution, and mortuary rites, which are as Malinowski has pointed out (7) concerned essentially with the readjustment of the relationships of the subclans affected. We shall have occasion to refer to mortuary rites later; but here I shall consider briefly another such situation.

In ritual or jural matters, the non-resident members always support and are supported by their subclan, no matter what the personal relations of the people concerned. Bwabwau's quarrel with his matrilineal kinsmen over his daughter's marriage did not prevent his playing a full part in the mortuary rites for his mother; and in a dispute about rights to use a name, the members of the two owning subclans of Yolawotu supported their respective headmen wherever they were living. In a dispute which arose about rights over a field, in which the owning subclan of Wakailua was a party, this was even more strikingly apparent. Some members of the other disputant subclan also were resident in Wakailua, and as the dispute grew bitter, the headman threatened to expel them from his village. Nevertheless

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(7) 1929, p. 127.

they contimued to stand by their own subclan. In the present context these cases illustrate the fact that the rights and responsibilities of subclan membership are not affected in principle by residence in a stranger village, even though the individual elects as an adult to stay on in such a village, whether his father's or another. The individual ultimately depends upon his membership of a subclan for his social status, including the possibility of his incorporation into the population of any village. His dependance upon the subclan is such that it overrides his attachment and responsibilities towards his village of residence in matters which affect the formal status of the subclan; and conversely, the status of a subclan is analogously bound up with that of its members wherever they reside.

But we must distinguish between situations in which ties of residence are over-ridden by membership of subclans, as in the last cases mentioned, and those of disputes in which individuals may side with the local group irrespective of subclan membership. The former are those in which the formal statuses of the subclans concerned are threatened and must be defended or asserted; in the latter, although the solidarity of the members of a subclan may be involved, its corporate formal status is not - unless the first type of dispute develops out of the second. The splitting of members of a subclan into factions in this way is most likely to occur along the lines of groups resident in more distant villages. As we have seen the majority of members of a subclan tend to reside in the village cluster which includes their own village; but where some members live at a distance, the support of their fellow kinsmen may not be readily obtained in day-to-day matters, and there is a natural tendency for such persons to

rely more upon the support of their fellow villagers, so that the solidarity of the members of the subclan concerned may be weakened so far as informal relationships are concerned. But the "stranger" can rely on the support of his fellow villagers only so long as it involves no threat to their own subclan's formal status, and in any dispute involving his own or that of his subclan he must look to his subclan for support.

A dispute in which Negidageda, who lives in Tilakaiwa as a dependant of the Lobwaita subclan (p. 92), was involved illustrates these points. Monumadoga, the Tilakaiwa headman, had been in ill health for some time, and rumours arose that Negidageda was causing this by sorcery. No credence was attached to these rumours in Tilakaiwa itself, and it was generally suspected that they had been started by certain residents of Omarakana with whom Negidageda had had a personal quarrel some time after Monumadoga had become unwell. In order, however, to prevent the tales gaining credence and possibly leading to tension between himself and the Lobwaita, Negidageda brought the matter up one day for formal discussion before Mitakata and other senior men of the cluster. The members of Negidageda's own subclan, whose village is Mwadoia, to the West of Omarakana (Map 3), took no part in the matter, and only one, a brother, attended the proceedings, in which Negidageda had the support of the Lobwaita. Negidageda gardens on behalf of his subclan for Mitakata, one of whose wives is Negidageda's classificatory sister's daughter. I was told that had the accusations against him involved his relationship with the Tabalu rather than the Lobwaita, not the latter but his own subclansmen would have been drawn into the dispute, because their subclan's formal status as affines of the Chief would have been

involved. As it was the accusation was directed against his personal position in Tilakaiwa, and it was of relatively little importance to his subclan whether he continued to live and garden for the Chief there or elsewhere, provided he continued to be able to garden for him on their behalf.

Structural Significance of the Subclan.

We may begin to summarise the findings of the Section by saying that the subclan emerges as a single unit, within which the members are not formally differentiated into lineages or lines of descent with social significance as such. On the other hand de facto groupings occur on the basis of residence, but this does not affect the formal status of the members of the subclan, though if their villages of residence are distant it may affect their interaction with other members and their solidarity in day-to-day existence. The status and roles of members of a subclan are determined by sex and generation membership, but within the categories thus distinguished genealogical nearness or distance and spacial dispersal have no formal significance.

The subclan is a unit of social structure in so far as it consists of a set of categories in virtue of their membership of which the relationships of the members are ordered and defined, both with each other and with members of other like units. It is also a unit of population, and of social organisation, in so far as its members act together as a corporate group in certain contexts. These are primarily those of ritual and jural significance (though usually with economic or political effects

also), and concern the formal status of the subclan as a whole, so that changes arising from such contexts affect the positions of the subclan in relation to other subclans directly. Thus any challenge to the myths and traditions in which the rights of the subclan to land, rank and other prerogatives affects all its individual members equally and fundamentally, so far as their formal status is concerned, though the members may not be equally affected personally in other ways - e.g. as participants in disputes. Similarly the contracting or ending of marriages by their members affects the formal status relations of total subclans as units relative to each other, and of all their members equally in this respect, though not all the members are personally involved in the marriages to the same extent, e.g. as spouses or as gardeners.

Differential residence of members of a subclan is of little importance even practically where the villages concerned are part of a single cluster. It may be of importance where the villages of residence are some distance apart, for then the active roles which the members can play in their subclans' corporate activities may be affected, and consequently their solidarity also. Spatial separation may thus affect the degree to which individuals are personally integrated into the corporate group of their subclans, and if great enough and sufficiently prolonged may result in a greater degree of integration into the corporate local group within which the individual spends the greater part of his daily existence. Nevertheless his ability to establish formal ties with the remainder of the local group, especially the owning subclan, derives ultimately from his status as a member of a formal kingroup; it is upon this that his incorporation into

the village of residence depends. The process of personal integration into any group, local or kin, derives from the development of ties of personal affection, shared experience and interest and so forth through which he comes to feel himself "one of" the group concerned. In contrast, the process of incorporation as the term is used here refers to the procedure whereby the ties resulting from such personal integration are validated, and the rights and obligations attendant upon citizenship in any village are formulated and operate.

In the Trobriands such incorporation is achieved in reference to kinship, including membership of subclans, and hence of clans, and affinal relationships. Residence in a village involves always both integration and incorporation in these senses. On the other hand incorporation into a kingroup is implicit and inherent in the fact of birth to a woman of a recognised subclan, and is not dependent upon personal integration. The latter however will vary in intensity so far as subclan members are concerned according to their spatial relations, if they reside in distant villages. Other factors also can affect the active role played by members; e.g. as we have seen their personal relationships at a given time with other members of the same subclan; but these do not affect their formal status.

The Trobriand village can from this point of view be defined as consisting in a territorially delimited corporate group of individuals, the formal structure and interrelationships of which is established in terms of kinship. That is, kinship enters into the definition of the local group. But local grouping does not enter into the definition of the

subclan, which at this level is to be regarded as a corporate group of individuals delimited in reference to matrilineal descent and structured formally in reference to sex and age categories. This first step in analysis will be followed up in later Sections. First we shall examine the way and the extent to which the personal factor, itself deriving from interaction and residence, bears upon formal subclan and village membership; and this will involve distinguishing between two levels of kinship ties, the formal and the personal.

Section 3. Personal Interaction and Formal Relationships.

The Marriage of Toginigini.

The starting point in this discussion will be a consideration of the marriage of Toginigini, no. 8 on the Tilakaiwa Map and the Lobwaita Genealogy. He is a lineal descendant of Igabwai, the junior of the four "sisters" in the eldest generation of the Genealogy. She married a man of Olivilevi village in Northern Luba district (Map 3), where her children were brought up. All three of her daughters married men of neighbouring villages, each one rearing a family in the villages of Okaiboma, Moligilagi and Kwaymwata respectively. Two of the sons of these women came to live in Tilakaiwa, where they are now classed as "elder brothers" of Daibuna the heir designate. Three of the women's daughters married into other villages of Omarakana cluster; one of them is the wife of Mbalota, the heir designate of Yogwabu village (Kasanai) and of the local village constable. Her classificatory mother's brother Touladoga, the garden magician of Tilakaiwa, gardens for her, and so does a classificatory brother,

which incidentally reflects the importance of village constables today; a garden magician who already gardens for a Chief (Mitakata) would hardly be likely also to garden for the commoner headman of a section of a joint village as such. Her two sisters are also gardened for by classificatory kinsmen in the cluster, not by their uterine brothers resident there.

Three of the other sons and three other daughters of Igabwai's daughters have remained or married in their fathers' villages, or married locally. They constitute a local subsection of the Lobwaita subclan, the men gardening for their sisters, and they have no regular interaction with the rest of the subclan resident in the Omarakana cluster; but this does not of course affect their formal status as full members of the subclan. Not even the names of these distant members of their subclan, or those of their spouses or their subclans, are known to the younger generation of Lobwaita living in the Omarakana cluster. Nevertheless, although they hardly knew her personally or could grieve for her out of affection one of the men and two of the women came to Tilakaiwa for Kaulabaku's mortuary rites, and played a full part in them alongside their kinsfolk of Tilakaiwa and the other local villages.

When the sons of Igabwai's daughters returned to Tilakaiwa to live, they already knew some of their subclansmen resident there who had been gardening for their mothers, so that they were not entirely unknown personally to the residents. They had also of course the status of full owners of the village before they took up residence there. But there has been very little interaction between the children of their sisters who remained in the distant villages and their agemates in the Omarakana cluster.

Toginigini is the son of one of these women, and was brought up in Olivilevi, and married a girl of a neighbouring village. This marriage broke down after a year or so, and he decided to exercise his right to live in Tilakaiwa. As a member of the Lobwaita subclan he was of course fully entitled to do this; but it meant leaving a local group into which he was both personally integrated and, by his mother's marriage, incorporated, for one which he had never visited except once when as a boy of about ten he had come with his mother for the mortuary rites for her classificatory sister Isalolu, who was buried in Tilakaiwa.

"Father" and "Daughter" Marriages.

After he came to live at Tilakaiwa, at the age of about 22, Toginigini married Bomakwasi, a girl of the Kauoma subclan of the Mailasi clan, and daughter of Miolaku, Toginigini's classificatory mother's brother. By the formal kinship usages (Chapter IV, Usage 12), the marriage was between formal "father" and "daughter", i.e. cross cousins of the type whose marriage is disapproved; ultimately, according to Malinowski (8), because the use of kinship terms tends to extend the incest taboo between own father and daughter to the relationship between the girl and her father's sister's son, even though sexual intercourse between them is not regarded as truly incestuous while their marriage would involve no breach of exogamy. It could be said that this particular marriage was permitted because the man and woman were "distantly" related as "father" and "daughter"; but this raises the question of the significance of "distance" in this sense. We

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(8) Cf. e.g. 1927, pp. 72-72; 1929, pp. 86-87, and esp. p. 447.

have seen that in some respects genealogical or spatial distance, or both, have no effect upon the formal status relations of individuals as members of subclans or of kinship categories. In as much as the formal statuses of all members of a given category are the same in relation to any given individual, the fact that some may marry where others should not indicates that the significance of this "distance" is not inherent in the formal aspect of the relationships involved, or in the status relationships of the individuals.

Formally Toginigini was no less fully a "father" of the girl he married than was Miolaku or any other male member of the Lobwaita subclan. Nor was it the factor of genealogical distance as such that distinguished his relationship with the girl from those of the majority of the other men of the subclan, since in this respect they were no closer kin to the girl than was he. But whereas they, as residents in the same village or village cluster as the girl, had all interacted personally with her to some extent as formal "fathers" and "daughter", Toginigini had no such established relationship with her while they were living in distant villages. His marriage to his formal "daughter", was thus made possible not by the genealogical but by the spatial distance between them, which precluded their establishing a personal relationship in terms of their formal status relations.

This implies that in so far as incest taboos prevent marriages between fathers and daughters, they do so not as elements of the formal status relations concerned, which are the same between all members of the same kinship categories, but as functions of a certain type of personal

relationship; without such a personal relationship incest taboos will be absent, and with it they will be present, between two individuals whatever their status relations as members of kinship categories. The type of personal relationship concerned is that which develops between individuals as members of quasi-biological units of residence, i.e. units in which the sex and age grouping and the physical and emotional interdependence of the members reproduce those of the biological elementary family grouping of genitor, genetrix and dependent offspring. Attitudes developed toward other members of such units may be extended by a given member to non-members on the basis of their identification as individuals with one of the other members; but such extension is psychologically speaking dependent upon personal interaction, and is neither ensured nor prevented automatically by similarity or dissimilarity of status relations. There is no rule of exogamy to prevent marriage between Trobriand father and daughter, who belong to different exogamous subclans by the matrilineal rule of descent(9). We cannot therefore account for the incest taboo between them by reference to the kinship system, or for their formal status relations by reference to the incest taboo. Yet the kinship terms "father" and "daughter" refer to relationships in which there is no barrier to marriage on the one hand, but in which on the other marriage is incestuous, or morally "wrong". The best hypothesis to explain this is that the same terms refer to two different kinds of relationship; in terms of the formal relationship, there is no barrier to marriage; in terms of the personal, sexual intercourse and hence marriage is incestuous.

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(9) Malinowski, 1929, Index. s.v. Father - Daughter; esp. pp. 384, 445-448.

Personal and Formal Kinship.

The personal level of meaning or content of kinship then derives from biological and psychological elements and processes in the interaction of individuals. These would include the physiologically conditioned differences in the roles of the sexes and generations, the sexual impulse itself, affective responses of individuals to one another, e.g. liking or disliking, love and hatred etc., the complexes of attitudes developed on the basis of such elements and their effect on personal interaction. To some extent the manner of expression of such attitudes and reactions in overt behaviour may be affected by different cultural contexts, and the range of individuals towards whom they are characteristically exhibited may be socially determined to some extent also; but conventions governing overt patterns of behaviour in formal relationships should not be assumed to depend upon or to result in the standardisation of affective attitudes in particular situations or relationships. Conventions whereby e.g. a formal gift must be presented with every outward appearance of anger and scorn by no means necessarily require that every donor must feel these emotions at the time; similarly members of prescribed kinship categories may be required at the mortuary rites to display every visible manifestation of personal anguish and misery whether or not they knew the deceased personally (10). In such highly charged emotional situations the overt behaviour may evoke the appropriate emotions temporarily in the participants, but it should not be assumed that conventional behaviour automatically ensures

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(10) Cf. Malinowski 1929, Cap. VI, Sec. 2.

similar emotional reactions in all formal relationships or situations. The fact that children should behave as though they loved their parents cannot of itself prevent some hating them, or even ensure a strong predisposition towards loving them in all cases. For many social purposes indeed it is not necessary that they should, but only that the appropriate outward behaviour should be observed.

Prescribed attitudes may to some extent be developed towards stereotypes of relationships or individuals, such as "the Hun", "the policeman who gets naughty boys", or even perhaps "the mother's brother" as a cultural equivalent of the policeman. But such attitudes are by no means always transformed into appropriate emotions towards all Germans, policemen or mothers' brothers with whom personal interaction occurs. People when known personally are evaluated and treated as individuals, not as stereotypes, even though their formal behaviour be stereotyped. To this extent personal kinship relations are idiosyncratic and essentially unpredictable; except in so far as the individuals are personally known to the fieldworker, he cannot predict how a particular "son" will react personally to a particular "father" in any situation, but provided he understands the formal kinship system, he can predict systematically how "sons" will react formally to any "father" in any formal context.

The term formal kinship thus refers to that element in the relationship between individuals which is determined by reference to their membership of defined social categories of kinship. Obviously both elements are involved in any dyadic kinship or other relationship; but we may indicate situations in which the one element will predominate over the other. Thus the

personal element will predominate in situations such as lovemaking, even though its form is conventional, or in the feeding of an infant by its mother, and the interaction of members of a household in the privacy of the home will tend also to be primarily personal in this sense. The formal element will predominate in interaction which is not contingent upon personal relations, as e.g. in this country the purchase of a ticket in a railway station, while it is not necessary to know and have an affective attitude towards a doctor to receive the appropriate reaction from him as a patient. Similarly in Kiriwina personal lack of knowledge or dislike of a particular mother's brother will not preclude the sister's son from experiencing and performing fully the appropriate formal roles toward him at a mortuary rite or harvest presentation. But just as the most effective doctor - patient relationship is experienced between individuals who react favourably to one another, so the value of good personal relations in enhancing and facilitating formal interaction is appreciated and expressed in Kiriwina; but the fact that such a value is formulated and enjoined indicates that it relates to elements in the total relationship that are not inherent in the status relations concerned. That is, the value relates rather to the level of personal than of formal kinship.

Relative Independence of Formal and Personal Aspects of Kinship Relations.

Thus the use of the kinship term "father" and "child" implies necessarily the existence of the formal relationship between the individuals concerned, but not necessarily the personal; i.e. they may or may not know one another personally, and if they do, their affective relationships may or may not be of the kind that is regarded as proper or desirable between

fathers and sons, or daughters, but such considerations do not affect their formal status relations. Incest taboos, as indicated by the discussion of those between fathers and daughters, must be explained by reference to other aspects of interaction than those relating to or determined specifically by status relations within the elementary family as a socially defined unit; rules of exogamy, on the other hand, relate directly to the status relations as defined in a particular kinship and social system, and may or may not preclude marriages between members of the elementary family group in different societies. The hypothesis may then be formulated that it is specifically to the psychological content and significance of that kind of interaction that occurs typically between an adult of either sex and one or more juvenile dependants in a state of more or less continuing and intense physical and emotional relationship with one another as members of a co-resident unit that we must attribute incest taboos, and that the psychological content and significance of such typical relationships are essentially the same however the status relationships comprising the elementary family as a social unit are formulated in a particular society.

We have seen that if anything tends to inhibit marriages or sexual intercourse between members of the kinship categories "father" and "daughter" as such, it is not the incest taboo, although this tends of itself to inhibit the marriage of own or personal father and daughter. We may thus postulate that there is in Kiriwina as elsewhere an inherent incompatibility between the psychological roles of father and husband which tends to inhibit their being properly experienced or developed by a man towards the same woman, but that there is no comparable incompatibility between the

formal statuses of father and husband, since one man can be successively the formal father and the husband of the same woman. This further implies, as has already been suggested, that girls do not extend incest attitudes automatically to all members of the kinship category "father" as such. Nevertheless they may be extended towards some members of the category, and when this occurs they tend to inhibit the marriage of the individuals concerned in the same way that they inhibit those of own father and daughter; but the degree to which they are effective in this will be correlated with the degree of the identification of the formal with the own father. Such identification is psychological, and is contingent upon there being elements in the personal relationship between the individuals concerned that leads to the identification of the individual formal father with the own; similarity of their status relationships may tend to facilitate the process, but is not enough to bring it about in itself, unless the status relation has acquired more than normal psychological significance for the individual concerned.

For instance, a child adopted young enough may develop a personal father-child relationship with more than one male household head, and its relationship with the second may be conditioned by that with its first father, in so far as the second may be identified psychologically with the first and some degree of transference of affect take place consequently. But adults, or older adolescents, can hardly be expected automatically to extend the affective content of their relationships with their own fathers to all members of the category "father" with whom they interact only as adults, though this may tend to occur in particularly close individual

relationships. On the other hand children brought up in the households of men who are formally not their "fathers" appear to develop relationships with such men which at the level of overt behaviour at least are indistinguishable from those with own fathers. Thus we may be justified in postulating that the personal, or psychological, father need not necessarily be also a child's formal father; and the genitor relationship is not formally recognised in the Trobriand kinship system. But the use of the term "father" does not follow automatically from the development of a personal relationship which is psychologically filial; it can be used only if its use is appropriate to the status relationships of the individuals concerned. It is enough to say here that the terms and statuses of subclan kinship are structurally opposed to those of affinal kinship, a conception which will be further discussed in the next Chapter. The present point is that even though a particular child's personal relationship with e.g. a mother's brother may be indistinguishable from that of other children with their fathers, the child could never term the mother's brother "father" but only "mother's brother", or by another term appropriate to their formal status relations as members of the same subclan.

There were in the population sample nine such cases of children brought up in their mothers' brothers' households (cf. Tables 13 and 14, and Cap. V, Sec. 2). When in enquiring whether these were permanent adoptions I used such a phrase as "Has .... become the true 'child' of ....?" I was always corrected for using the term "child", even though the children were said to have moved permanently into the households concerned; they were formally mothers' brothers and sisters' children and would always be so;

but their personal relationships were in all apparent respects those of fathers and children. In 31 cases of adoption by formal "mothers" however the children were counted as "true" children of the women, while I was assured that no matter what their previous formal relationships with the children the adoptive mothers' husbands would become their "true fathers"; in all cases the children and their adoptive mothers were members of the same subclans, so that their husbands were all affines of the children concerned. There were two cases of adoption of younger siblings, one by an elder brother and one by an elder sister; uterine siblings were concerned in both cases. Both the married elder siblings assumed parental roles towards the younger, and were terminologically "reclassified" accordingly, but as subclan kin; the sister became a "mother", while the elder brother became not "father" but "mother's brother". I was told that had the children been somewhat older when adopted they might have continued to use the terms for "elder sibling" for their "parents", and of course the personal relationship would probably have been different to some extent. Thus in relation to the child the statuses of "father" and "mother's brother" are structurally opposed, the former being a relation of affinal and the latter one of subclan kinship; but the child may have a personal or psychological father-child relation with a member of either category. On the other hand the statuses of father and husband are structurally equivalent, both being relations of affinal kinship; but the psychological relationships of father and husband are psychologically opposed or incompatible, so that the incest taboos prevent the same man from being successively personal father and husband to the same woman. Again the

statuses of father-in-law and mother's brother are structurally opposed; Toginigini's personal relation with his wife's father was indistinguishable from that of any son-in-law with his father-in-law, but their formal relationship remained that of mother's brother and sister's son, and in every respect Toginigini's relationships with other members of his subclan were those of a subclan, not an affinal, kinsman.

Thus personal relationships may take essentially the same form in a variety of formal contexts, and show a significant degree of independence of formal status relations, which they may modify within structurally significant limits; and we may postulate that the kinship terms thus refer to two distinct though connected kinds of relationship. I emphasise this because in the next Chapter I shall relate the present discussion to a definition of social structure which will thereafter be used in explanation of the formal kinship system; and because Malinowski's accounts of Trobriand kinship in his published works refer almost exclusively to what I have called the personal level of kinship. In view of the preceding discussions it will be apparent, for instance, that the various statements made to the effect that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is unlawful while that with the father's sister's daughter is lawful has no meaning at the level of formal kinship since no rule of exogamy operates to prevent either kind of marriage (11). It is meaningful only at the level of personal kinship, in as much as marriage between personal kin of the

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(11) Cf. esp. Malinowski 1929, Cap. IV, Sec. 4.

categories concerned is felt to be repugnant and reprehensible, rather than unlawful, because it would be incestuous. The basis of such confusion seems to me to lie in a failure to appreciate the dual meanings inherent in the use of kinship terms, as they may refer on the one hand to formal categories of members all having the same status relation with Ego, and on the other to individuals having specific kinds of personal relationships with Ego. If this distinction is accepted and systematically applied in analysis it should be unnecessary to try to explain classificatory or formal kinship as a watered down version as it were of elementary family relationships, or to explain the consequences of such conceptions by reference to "the influence which language has upon customs and ideas" (12); such views imply conceptions of psychological processes and relations which seem to me highly questionable at least.

"Distance" as a Factor in Kinship Relations.

If we regard the personal and the formal aspects of kinship relations as essentially independent, though affected by each other, we may say that the formal relations remain the same whatever the genealogical or spatial distance between members of a given category. In as much as incest taboos are a function of personal kinship, they, like it, are the product of and are conditioned by the factor of spatial propinquity. That in many cases spatial is associated with genealogical nearness of kin is from this viewpoint coincidental, the personal relationships concerned being unaffected by the genealogical factor as such. Those of Toginigini's

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(12) Ibid., p. 447.

mothers' sisters' sons who lived in the Omarakana cluster were no more closely related genealogically to the girl he married than he was himself, but as residents in the same village cluster they had interacted with her personally in terms of their formal relationships as "fathers" and "daughter", whereas Toginigini had not. None of them could so readily have married the girl as could Toginigino, because of the existing personal relationship with her; on the other hand they had not lived with her as members of the same household, so that their affective relationships were not such that their marriage with her would have been impossible, because of strong incest taboos. The significant factor is thus the conditioning of the personal relationships by spatial, not genealogical, factors; distance in the case of Toginigini, and proximity in that of his wife's other "fathers".

There is possibly a greater likelihood that genealogically close kin will develop close personal relations in terms of formal kinship with one another rather than with genealogically more distant kin of the same categories. For practical reasons it is preferred that a woman's personal brother should represent their subclan in the relationships resulting from her marriage rather than a distant, i.e. personally unknown, formal brother. But in as much as about 50 percent of the children in the population sample are adopted, that is transferred as infants or young children from their natal households to others (cf. Cap. V, Sec. 2; Appendix, Table 13, Frequency of Adoption), it is almost as likely that a woman's personal or "true" brother in this sense will not be her uterine brother as that he will. By the time they are adolescent, such adopted children come to

regard the adoptive as their "true" parents, and the mother's "true" brother as their "true" mother's brother, even though genealogically the relationship between the children and the mother and the mother and her brother may be distant. But this is irrelevant of itself so far as the personal or formal relationship are concerned. Again, the adoption of at least 50 percent of girl children suggests that the "true" or personal father towards whom incest taboos are most likely to be strongly developed may as often be a genealogically distant affine as the husband of the girl's genetrix (the genitor relation is further discussed pp. 277-279).

Unlike the political motives that operate in the case of Chiefs' marriages with their formal daughters, the motive for Toginigini's marriage was personal. His wife's father and other men of the subclan encouraged the marriage as a means of facilitating their formal sister's son's personal integration into the village community. His status as a member of their subclan and as an "owner" of the village was fully established by his birth, but having been brought up in a distant village he had not been personally integrated into the population of that of his subclan until he moved there as an adult after the dissolution of his first marriage, whereas his "brothers" had been brought up there. This again indicates that personal relationships are independent of and cannot be established by formal, while the latter cannot be established by any kind of personal relationship without the proper status qualifications.

Theoretical Implications of the Distinction.

The view put forward on the basis of the arguments already advanced is then that personal kinship is to be treated as a distinct phenomenon from

formal; to put it more explicitly, the personal content of relationships experienced between individuals within the context of the kinship system is to be regarded as in a significant sense independent of the formal relationships concerned. In as much as psychological elements in individual relationships are a function of the interaction of personalities, not of social statuses, even though personalities and their mode of expression may be affected and conditioned by status relationships, neither level of kinship relations can be said to derive from the other or to give rise to it; that is, neither level can be explained by reference to the other for analytical purposes. This does not mean to say of course that the effects of the one level of kinship upon the other do not affect the relationships of members of the society in social organisation, or that they should not be examined at that level; but that the kinship system in so far as it is a system of standardised and uniform status relations cannot be explained satisfactorily by reference to the personal relationships of members of the society, which are not and cannot be standardised as are their formal status relations, even though the ways in which personal relations are expressed overtly may be standardised to some extent by the socially defined roles and their associated behaviour patterns. Attempts to explain the one in terms of the other can only result in confusion of the problems, as may be seen in the case of incest taboos between fathers and daughters.

We shall see in the next Chapter that there is a degree of disapproval of marriages between members of the formal father and daughter categories; but it will also be shown this disapproval is related to a preference for marriage with members of other categories. This preference can be

adequately explained by practical considerations connected with the disposal of the resources of the subclan in affinal relationships, without introducing considerations of a psychological nature. Malinowski's view assumes that it is specifically marriage with the mother's brother's daughter that is disapproved because the use of the terms "father" and "daughter" between her and her father's sister's son results in the extension to each by the other of affective attitudes, of which incest taboos are a part, inherent in the relationship between own father and daughter; hence marriage with the father's sister's daughter is preferred because there is no incest taboo in her case. This view obscures the significance of the kinship categories concerned and of the marriage contract as a structural mechanism. The present analysis does not deny the possibility of extensions of psychological attitudes, even incest taboos, between individuals, but holds that this takes place on the basis of affective responses resulting from personal interaction in which similarity of status relations may or may not be significant. A girl may thus psychologically identify one but not another father's sister's son with her father, and feel that sexual relations would be incestuous with the one but not with the other; but she might also, on the basis of some element in their relationship which was psychologically significant to her, identify a mother's brother's son with her father in the same way, and feel that sexual relations with him also would be incestuous. On the other hand it is recognised that there is a preference, on practical not psychological grounds as we shall see (Cap.IV, Sec. 4, Preferred Marriages), for marriage, not with the father's sister's daughter as such, but with members of the kinship category of whom

she is one, and a consequent lesser preference, rather than an active disapproval, for marriage not with the mother's brother's daughter as such, but with members of the kinship category of whom she is one. Incest taboos may add moral repugnance to the disapproval of the one type of marriage in particular instances, but are not the basis of the general preference for the other type.

The distinction between two levels of meaning or significance in kinship relations implies two levels of meaning of kinship terms, in as much as in some contexts they may be used in reference to the personal relationships between individual members of the formal kinship categories, and in others to the status relations upon which distinguished kinship categories are based. It implies also that an explanation for the kinship terminology and relationships system must be sought outside the elementary family relationships of individual members of society. For the foregoing discussion, in particular the consideration of the absence of a rule of exogamy between formal, together with the presence of the incest taboo between personal, fathers and daughters, is enough to render untenable at least with regard to the Trobriand material Malinowski's views as expressed in the statement that "There is not the slightest doubt that exogamy is correlated with the prohibition of incest, that it is merely an extension of this taboo, exactly as the institution of the clan with its classificatory terms of relationship is simply an extension of the family and its mode of kinship nomenclature"(13).

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(13) Malinowski 1927, p. 243.

But before attempting in the next Chapter to formulate a conceptual explanation of the Trobriand kinship system, we must first review the relation between it and personality development as discussed in particular in sections of Malinowski's "Sex and Repression in Savage Society", from which the foregoing quotation is taken. For a major implication of the main theme of the present Chapter is that the personal, and in particular the psychological, content of elementary family relationships can be regarded as essentially the same whether under a matrilineal or a patrilineal kinship system. It therefore becomes necessary to show that there are at least as good reasons, both empirical and theoretical, for assuming that this is true of the Trobriands as those put forward by Malinowski in arguing that the matrilineal kinship system affects characteristically the development of the personality, in particular that of the Oedipus complex, in the Trobriand child.

Section 4. <u>Kinship and Personality Development</u>.

In the last Section it was shown by examination of the marriage of Toginini that the factor of spatial separation of kin of certain kinds had the effect of modifying the personal content of their kinship relations, but not their formal status relations as members of kinship categories. This was developed into the hypothesis that there are in effect two kinds of relationships to which the kinship terms refer; those arising between individuals on the basis of their personal interaction with one another, and those prescribed or existing between individuals in terms of their status relations in the kinship system. Further, it was argued that there

is no strict correlation between the latter kind of relation and the former, especially so far as the psychological content of relationships are concerned, these being regarded as part of what was called personal kinship, though affected, so far as the mode of their expression in overt behaviour and the range of individuals with whom they develop are concerned, by formal kinship. In this Section it will further be argued that what I call personal kinship is essentially the same in all societies, and to show this it is necessary to try to demonstrate that there is as good reason to hold that the process and results of personality development in the Trobriands are much the same as in a patrilineal society so far as the effect of the formal kinship system is concerned, although other factors not related to kinship systems as such may affect personality development variously in different societies whatever their kinship systems.

If a case can be made for the hypothesis that what I have called personal kinship has much the same form and content as a factor in the relationships of members of any society, then formal kinship systems, to which is related the notion of social structure so far as it may be a function of kinship, can be discussed at the level of comparative analysis without reference to, i.e. taking as a constant factor in any social system, what I have called personal kinship. Any analysis which involves the formulation of systematic relationships on the basis of observed behaviour of a population in fact of course presupposes the elimination of the factor of individual interpretation of and response to similar situations. In as much as such variation is itself conditioned by variations of personality at least in a large degree, the process of analysis implies the elimination

of the factor of personality variation before statements can be made about regularities and systematic relationships. If it is held that variations in the formal systems of kinship relations necessarily produce variations in personality, and consequently in configurations of elementary family relationships at the psychological level, and on the other hand that formal kinship systems are in any real sense extensions of elementary family relationships, then logically the study of social structure as this relates to kinship must take the form of a sort of group or social psychoanalysis for which few anthropologists are trained, with which the discipline is not theoretically equipped to deal and for which the data so far presented in at least the great majority of monographs and other writings are not adequate. But such a view appears to rest upon the hypothesis, or assumption, that the personal content of socially defined relationships as experienced by individual members of societies is somehow of the same order of social significance, or the same thing as, the social relationships themselves.

This is implicit in the use of such terms as "extension" in reference to classificatory usages of kinship terms. It is of course apparent that individuals "learn" their kinship relations partly by a process of extending types of behaviour appropriate to their relations with members of their elementary families to non-members on the basis of similarities of the relevant status relations as indicated in the wider use of the kinship terms. But to say this is by no means to show that the formal status relations themselves derive from, or are even primarily concerned with, the relationships of members of the elementary family, whether personal and

psychological or formal, as defined in the kinship and social systems. The present analysis derives from a directly opposed view; namely that the formal status relations of all members of given kinship categories are the same, and that they do not derive from elementary family membership, but on the contrary determine the characteristic significance of the elementary family as a unit of social organisation in particular social systems. From this point of view the Trobriand kinship system has no more and no less to do with personality development than have systems of say institutionalised statuses based on occupational specialisations in complex Western types of society.

It is not necessary for the present purpose to examine Malinowski's interpretations of psychological concepts in detail. We are concerned immediately with his analysis of the processes of development of psychological complexes, especially the Oedipus complex, as he deals with it in his "Sex and Repression in Savage Society". As the basis of his analysis he accepts in part, albeit cautiously, the views of Dr. Ernest Jones, an essay by whom he takes as a "typical illustration of certain differences in the method of approach of anthropologists and psychologists to the problems of primitive society" (14). Thus Malinowski accepts statements by Jones to the effect that "the combination of mother right and ignorance (of physiological paternity) protects both father and son from their maternal rivalry and hostility", saying that "it seems (to him) to be perfectly in

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(14) Malinowski, 1927, p. 136.

harmony with all the facts .... discovered in Melanesia, and with any other kinship system with which (Malinowski) is acquainted through the literature" (15). But where Jones held that "the matrilineal complex with its avunculate system arose, ... as a defence against the primordial Oedipus tendencies", Malinowski, seeing the Oedipus complex as a result of patrilineal kinship and agreeing as to its absence in matrilineal systems, does not commit himself to the view that the latter arose in order to avert the development of this complex (16). It will be argued here however that the facts of the pattern of upbringing in the Trobriands as presented by Malinowski himself are, so far as the development of the Oedipus complex is concerned at least, essentially no different to those of upbringing in any elementary family, whether under a patrilineal or a matrilineal kinship system.

The Trobriand Elementary Family. (17).

The overt pattern of interpersonal relationship in the Trobriand elementary family presents much the same picture as that found in many other societies. A man and woman united by the marriage contract are responsible for one or more dependent children, whom they bring up as members of a single household. During early infancy, when they are known as pwapwawa, the same term as is used of the embryo, children of either sex are normally cared for primarily by the mother, who keeps them close to her physically most of the time though later in this stage they are handed over

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(15) Ibid., pp. 138 and 139.

(16) Ibid., pp. 139-141, 142.

(17) Cf. Malinowski, 1927, Part I.

temporarily more and more frequently to others, especially to other "mothers".[1] After they achieve a minimal degree of physical independence of the parents the children begin to spend an increasing amount of time in the village playgroup, starting at about three years or so, by which time they are termed gwadi, "children" as against "infants" or "babies".

They remain members of the play group, or children's republic as Malinowski calls it (18), until about the age of puberty. At first boys and girls spend about as much time together as in separate sex groups, but as they grow older they tend to spend more of their time in sex differentiated activities. At the age of puberty, ten to twelve years for girls and twelve to fourteen for boys roughly, they begin to assume adult responsibilities more seriously, but training begins earlier. Until they reach the age of about six years, both boys and girls are held to be irresponsible and unable to understand adult activities, but at about this age they are encouraged to accompany their parent of the same sex on visits to the gardens, to public events and so on, and to learn social techniques of all kinds partly by imitation and partly by instruction, but they are not expected to take too seriously any adult undertakings until puberty. Thus in 1950 the boys' group of the village of Tilakaiwa had their own garden in the main village site, but only the older boys took or were expected to take their gardening at all seriously.

It is not usually until after they have begun to go to the gardens and so on with their fathers that boys begin to interact with their mothers'

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(18) 1929, Cap. III, Sec. 1.

brothers personally. Before this they are at first under the personal control of their fathers, and later increasingly under that of the senior members of the playgroup. From the age of about seven, mothers' brothers usually begin to take them along on gardening or fishing expeditions or to public events instead of their fathers; but a boy will continue to spend most of the time away from the playgroup with his father so long as he remains in the father's village, and during this stage his personal relations are not usually focussed on any one mother's brother in particular. Often however the mother's brother with whom the child comes into contact most frequently is the man who gardens for the child's mother, but not infrequently more than one woman of the same subclan is married to men of the same or neighbouring villages, so that there is often personal contact with more than one man of their subclan at this stage. There is rarely much formality about excursions with such mothers' brothers; they are frequently the result of casual encounters with a sister's son during a brother's visit to his sister's village of residence on matters connected with her marriage. Once a child has gone out with a mother's brother he may go and visit him in his own village, perhaps to join him in some activity or simply to play with his children. It is on such visits that the sister's son begins to know the population of his subclan's village personally, and of course to interact with the mother's brothers' children who are formally his "children" also.

By the age of puberty or a little later the boy has graduated from the playgroup into the group of youths (ulatile) and the girl into that of the marriageable girls (nakubukwabula) of the village of residence, and in the

next two or three years many girls marry, though the youths may not do so until they are about twenty. Girls of course remain in the father's village until marriage; ideally boys should move to the mother's brother's village, i.e. that of their own subclan, when they are past adolescence at about the age of 16-17. Nowadays however they also often remain in the father's village until marriage, since owing to missionary opposition to the institution of the bachelors' house (bukumatula - 19) there is often no proper place for them to move to until a house is built for them as married men. This does not take place usually until a year or so after marriage, when the first proper harvest gift (urigubu) is received by the newly married couple, which indicates that the marriage has achieved a degree of stability. The abandonment of bachelor houses, of which there was only one in the Omarakana cluster, may have some effect in inducing men to stay in their fathers' villages longer and more often than used to be the case, but it has had little apparent effect on premarital morality, at which the Mission campaign was primarily directed, other than to drive the activities under cover to some extent.

As noted above, the personal relationships of members of the Trobriand elementary family appear to be much the same as in other societies, and this includes the relationship with the father. As Malinowski emphasises, the mother's brother represents the jural and other interests of their subclan in the sister's marriage; but, as Malinowski also points out, the respect relation between him and his sister prevents him from intervening

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(19) Malinowski, 1929, pp. 59-64.

personally in the domestic activities of her household. It is the father who is personally responsible for both the wellbeing and the conduct of the children so long as they are in his household; the mother's brother becomes so only when and for as long as they visit him or go out with him. Otherwise, and in particular during the critical years of personality development, until the age of about six or seven, it is the father, not the mother's brother, who personally represents authority, instils such discipline and obedience as is required, and generally trains the boys during their time of residence with him.

Psychologically speaking, it is irrelevant that the father does this partly as the representative of the mother's brother. For that matter, this is only one source of his jural status, for he is the representative of his own subclan's interests in the household, and as its head is responsible for both his wife's and her children's conduct and care in village affairs. But as in other elementary families the father resorts to formal authority (which is a function of his formal relationship with the children) only when his personal influence is inadequate to deal with a particular situation (20). His personal prestige, as also in patrilineal systems, derives not from his formal status as <u>pater</u> directly, but from the affective reactions of the children to him as an adult male personality upon whom they are physically and emotionally more dependant than upon any other male. In the process of personality development constellations of affective attitudes focus upon the individuals with whom personal interaction

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(20) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 44-46.

takes place, not upon their formal statuses or roles of which young children can hardly be fully aware. The mother's brother is prevented by the respect relationships between himself and his sister (21) from interacting personally with her children until after they reach an age by which the bases of the personality are already laid (22). To this extent therefore there is little reason to suppose that he rather than the father should become the "authority figure" in relation to the child; rather it seems that the psychological relation between father and child is essentially the same under the Trobriand matrilineal as under a patrilineal system of formal kinship.

Factors affecting Personality Development.

Other factors than the formal kinship system may however affect the personality of the Trobriander as against that of members of other societies. Classificatory kinship, whether under a system of patrilineal or of matrilineal descent, may be one, since the presence of many formal "fathers" and "mothers" in the child's village of residence tends to weaken its physical dependence upon its own parents, at least after infancy, and may similarly render less intense its psychological dependence upon them, in as much as its physical and psychological needs may be satisfied from a number of sources rather than being uniquely focussed upon two individuals. Correlated with this is the pattern of residence, whereby the individual

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(21) Cf. Malinowski, e.g. 1927 pp. 70-71.

(22) Ibid. esp. pp. 44 and 45.

houses are in effect little more than bedrooms for the families, whose daily life is spent in great part outside the house, in the village or the gardens and so on. Further the group life of the children in the "children's republic" may be significant, together with the relative freedom of children from adult or parental control and the minimal use of force in disciplining them. Indeed it is in the playgroup, at the hands of its senior members, that the child appears first to learn discipline and cooperation effectively, rather than at the hands of adults. Again, the relatively restricted range of choices in the ways of self-expression, together with the emphasis upon conformity characteristic of the playgroup, could be significant in the "standardising" of personalities to some extent.

But none of these factors are specific characteristics of Trobriand society, nor are they directly related to the Trobriand formal kinship system. Rather they are found in many relatively small scale and simple societies, and some in cultural and social subgroups in larger scale and more complex societies, as e.g. in some rural communities in western European societies. They are not correlated with matrilineal rather than patrilineal or any other particular type of classificatory kinship system, but rather with factors of scale and complexity, patterns of residence, systems of education and so forth. Moreover, they probably do not so much affect personality development qualitatively in themselves as tend to weaken or strengthen various elements in the same range of basic personality types in all societies; from this point of view the Oedipus or any other type of complex is as likely to occur, and have the same basic form, in Trobrianders as in any other people, though its intensity in or effect upon

the personality may be affected by the factors indicated above - which do not however derive specifically from the formal Trobriand kinship system. To this extent therefore we are justified in assuming as a working hypothesis that so far as the effects of the kinship system are concerned the same range of basic personality types will occur amongst Trobrianders as amongst other peoples, although other factors than formal kinship may tend to "standardise" the adult personality more effectively than in other cultural contexts. In other words the formal kinship system is not a determinant of the typical Trobriand personality, any more than it is determined/the psychological context of maturation in the elementary family; but this is not to say that the kinship system, as a part of the social matrix, may not emphasise some aspects of psychological processes of development in characteristic ways. The relation between incest taboos and rules of exogamy is relevant here.

Incest Taboos and Rules of Exogamy (cf. pp. 118-119).

It is suggested that incest taboos, as elements in personal relationships would develop between members of a residential unit having the same pattern of age and sex distribution among its members as the biological family or unit of reproduction even though there were no social definition of the statuses and roles of members of the unit in terms of their membership of wider social units. But this is not to say that the social context of elementary family membership has no effect upon the development of incest taboos. In the Trobriands the cultural emphasis upon the enormity of brother-sister incest, as reflected in the emotional attitudes of parents and other adults, no doubt affects the relationship

of even young children within the family, and may also affect the attitudes of children to one another as members of the village play group, even though the respect relation cannot be effectively enforced until brother and sister leave the play group as maturing adolescents. While the psychological taboo itself is held here to derive from the psycho-biological aspect of elementary family relationships, the cultural emphasis upon it is rooted in the importance of the brother-sister relationship in the formal affinal relations of the exogamous matrilineal kingroup. The rule of exogamy, with the associated prohibition on sexual intercourse, reinforces the incest taboo between the members of the social elementary family who belong to the same exogamous subclan, i.e. mother and son and especially brother and sister; but no rule of exogamy reinforces the incest taboo between father and daughter.

That is, the term incest taboo is used here in the psychological sense, and such taboos are regarded as distinct from prohibitions on sexual intercourse associated with rules of exogamy, or associated with other restrictions on marriage. Sexual intercourse may be said to be psychologically incestuous when it occurs between individuals who have been conditioned by their personal interaction against one another as sexual partners, so that it arouses feelings of guilt in the partners to the act, irrespective of whether or not they are barred from marrying by a rule of exogamy. The development of such attitudes is held to be a function of personal, not formal, kinship as here distinguished, and their bases are established in the personality before the child becomes capable of appreciating formal kinship relations and norms. It is suggested moreover

that such attitudes will tend to develop between members of residential elementary families irrespective of their formal status relations with one another. While most Kiriwinan children are brought up by social "fathers" and "mothers" with social "siblings", some, as we shall see later, are brought up by social "mothers' brothers" and their wives who also count as formal "mothers", but whose children count as their fathers' sisters' sons' social "children", not their "siblings". What superficial observations could be made of such situations, together with comments by informants, suggest that sexual intercourse, and therefore marriage, between members of such residential units would be considered as morally reprehensible, i.e. incestuous in the sense defined, as sexual intercourse between members of normal elementary families, although the grouping of members of such units in terms of the rule of exogamy is different; i.e. there is rule of exogamy between "mother's brother" and "sister's daughter", but none between sister's son and mother's brother's wife or the women of her subclan, intercourse with whom is not classed as <u>suvasova</u> (v. p. 150).

However incest taboos normally develop between members of the kinship categories "father", "mother", "child", "brother" and "sister", since the matrix within which personality develops initially usually consists of members of these categories. It may be said that, so far from incest taboos determining the nature of the rule of exogamy, the latter together with the socially determined significance of marriage as a relation between corporate matrilineal kingroups conditions the fact that normally incest taboos develop between members of these rather than of other formal kinship categories. The absence of a rule of exogamy in reference to the

father and other members of his subclan despite the presence of an incest taboo between own or personal fathers and daughters in itself indicates that the rule of exogamy as an element in formal kinship cannot be regarded as deriving from the systematic extension of the incest taboo on the basis of classificatory usages, since all male members of the father's subclan are formally termed "father" also.

Moreover, if rules of exogamy in general had their origin in incest taboos in this way, the same rule and the same associated restrictions on sexual intercourse should occur in all societies where the kinship terms used within the elementary family are also employed in classificatory usages, in as much as the elementary family and the same basic pattern of and incest taboos as elements in the relationships of its members occur universally in human societies; but this we know empirically is not the case. Moreover although psychologically speaking affective attitudes can be extended to individuals other than those towards whom they are originally developed, so far as I am aware there is no evidence that such extensions can be induced to occur systematically, except toward stereotypes by techniques like those of propaganda; while in such cases there is no certainty that individual representatives of the stereotype will provoke the affective reactions associated with the stereotype itself on the basis of personal interaction. This is of course apparent in the case of wartime propaganda about "the Hun" etc., and the reaction of individual soldiers and civilians to one another. (Cf. above, p. 120).

Rather the extension of affective attitudes between individuals takes place when one person is psychologically identified with another

towards whom a certain attitude has been learnt as a result of personal interaction, identification in the psychological sense being contingent upon there being some element in the secondary relationship which causes the "identifier" to react to the individual concerned more or less unconsciously in the same way that he reacted to the person concerned in the primary relationship. This sort of identification takes no cognisance of formal status relations and so forth, except incidentally to the personal relationship, and does not follow automatically upon similarities of status, occupation or other factors. Thus e.g. the fact that Ego's father is, say, a bus driver does not mean that Ego will feel as though any bus driver were automatically a father of his in some degree, although maladjusted individuals who had an unfavourable relationship with a bus driver father might display neurotic attitudes towards bus drivers in general. Actual interaction with a friendly bus driver might lead to the development of a different attitude towards him personally and hence toward the stereotype "bus driver", so that even in such cases it would not be safe to assume that the affective response would be the same towards all other bus drivers. It is therefore unsafe to assume that systematic attitude extensions can take place to members of kinship any more than of other social categories, still less that such extensions provide the bases of kinship categories, although they may affect an individual's relationships with members of categories in so far as they interact personally. But rules of exogamy and prohibitions on sexual intercourse between members of exogamous groups or between other kinds of kin are not contingent upon interaction; and it is safer to assume,

because this assumption is potentially less misleading, that like personal kinship, of which they are to be considered a function, incest taboos in so far as they occur in all societies are independent of and do not give rise to either rules of exogamy or prohibitions on sexual intercourse as elements of a formal kinship system. At the same time this assumption does not imply that where incest taboos as it were coincide with rules of exogamy or prohibitions on sexual intercourse, they may not be utilised in respect of such rules and thus be reinforced in their turn. On the other hand it can be shows that incest taboos are not essential to the maintenance of rules of exogamy.

Thus under the Trobriand kinship system however strong or weak the taboo of incest may be between them personally, no formal brother and sister can marry, since the nature of the marriage contract precludes the possibility of marriage between members of the same subclan, in as much as it requires the formal participation of representatives of different subclans. The prohibitions on sexual intercourse between members of the same subclan, as against incest taboos between individuals, are to be related not to the latter but to the rules of exogamy, arising from the social, not the psychological, identification of sexual intercourse with marriage, the basis for which may be found in the fact that, as in other societies, the marriage contract covers the sexual rights and responsibilities of the spouses. More than this, Malinowski's accounts make it clear that as in any society the sexual relation between husband and wife is the basis of their personal relationship with one another, and since the continuance as well as the establishing of marriage at one

level depends on the personal relationship of the spouses. their sexual relation is to this extent the basis of their marriage. But it is at the same time only one element in the formal marriage contract, and as we shall see in later Chapters, from the point of view of the formal kinship system the sexual relation between spouses is to be regarded as the vehicle, rather than the essence, of the marriage contract as a means of establishing formal affinal relations between subclans and their members. From this point of view sexual intercourse is distinguished from marriage, as may be seen in the freedom of unmarried individuals to indulge in legitimate sexual relationships with one another.

As a corollory to this freedom, however, it may be concluded that it becomes the more important, and in a way the more difficult, to ensure the observance of rules governing both marriage itself and sexual relationships where the rules of exogamy affect these. As pointed out above, no amount of sexual interest in one another can lead to the marriage of members of the same subclan; but such interest if excessive - if it amounted for instance to a fixation in the psychological sense - might lead to the failure of some individuals to contract approved marriages, although it could not result in breaches of exogamy. At the same time the value of close personal relations between brothers and sisters in the formal aspect of the marriage contract, in helping to ensure that brothers carry out their formal roles as their subclans' representatives in their sisters' marriages willingly and efficiently, is appreciated. The roles of the brother are symbolised in the presentation of the harvest gift, and such phrases as "true brothers garden for their sisters" express the social value

of their personal attachment to their sisters. But this attachment must be controlled lest it lead to a degree of intimacy and interest, sexual or of other kinds, that might imperil the wellbeing of the marriage, whether through the brother's jealousy of the husband leading to his interfering in the domestic affairs of his sister's household or through overconcern with the interests of the individuals involved in the marriage at the expense of those of their subclan. In these considerations may be found the explanation of the respect relation between brother and sister and the associated emphasis on the incest taboo between them as against other incest taboos.

We may thus distinguish three elements affecting and controlling the personal relationships of brothers and sisters in particular, as these affect the formal significance of the marriage contract. Two may be said to originate in the formal kinship system and to operate systematically; these are of course the rules of exogamy, which preclude the possibility of marriages between members of the same subclan, and the associated prohibitions on sexual intercourse, in terms of which such intercourse is equally wrong and reprehensible no matter how close or distant the relationship between subclan kin who indulge in it. The third element, that of the psychological incest taboo, varies in intensity according to the degree of closeness of the relationship between individual members of the subclan; it is only incestuous intercourse between members of the same household that provokes real horror and revulsion, while intercourse between distant subclan, and especially clan, kin provokes a minimal reaction of this type. The term <u>suvasova</u> designates breaches of the

prohibition on sexual intercourse within the subclan and clan, hence it applies also to breaches of exogamy. But no formal distinction is drawn between breaches of the prohibition which involve incest in the psychological sense, and those which do not, nor does this or any other term refer to incest which does not involve the breach of such a prohibition; thus incest between own or personal father and daughter does not count as suvasova, although it arouses strong reactions of horror and disgust. On the other hand, breaches of the prohibition on sexual intercourse which take place between distant kin, which would not involve incest in the psychological sense, arouse very little reaction of this kind, although they count as suvasova; but they are not "dangerous" as are incestuous breaches of the prohibition, and indeed suvasova between distant subclan and especially clan kin has greater piquancy than an affair between permitted sexual partners (23).

Thus the effect of incest taboos differs from that of the formal prohibition on sexual intercourse within the subclan, so that we are justified in ascribing the former to the level of personal and the latter to that of formal kinship. As indicated earlier, incest taboos and formal prohibitions of sexual intercourse may affect each other; that is, they may reinforce each other where they coincide in the relationships of individuals, but equally the absence of one may weaken the effect of the other. The relative psychological weightings of the incest taboos between father and daughter, mother and son and brother and sister may differ in

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(23) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Cap. XIII, Sec. 5, esp. pp. 422 ff. and Sec. 6, esp. p. 433.

the Trobriands, as may the effectiveness of their "internalisation", from their weighting or strength in other societies, owing partly to the characteristics of the formal kinship system and partly to other factors already noted (v. pp. 142-144). However this may be, the discussion indicates that the incest taboos must be regarded as different in origin and in explanation from the prohibitions on sexual intercourse, since they cannot be explained by the same concepts. Although they may be affected by formal kinship, incest taboos must be explained by reference to psychological concepts, whereas the prohibitions on sexual intercourse between members of kinship categories, like the related rules of exogamy, must be explained by concepts that will explain the latter; this as we have seen the incest taboos will not do, consequently neither will any psychological concepts that explain them.

Psychological Conflicts and the Kinship System.

The statement that incest taboos and prohibitions on sexual intercourse may strengthen or weaken each other implies that what have been distinguished as personal and formal kinship may not always be in harmony. If the arguments are accepted, it will be apparent that the psychological content of personal relationships within the Trobriand elementary family is essentially similar to that of the relationships within the analogous social unit in any society, and the development of the Kiriwinan psychological personality must be assumed to involve the same processes of complex formations as are found in the individual personality in other societies. But in as much as the Trobriand kinship system differs from others, it may weight various aspects of the personality and of complex formations

differently, so that in as much as the process of personality development involves the adjustment of the individual to society, some aspects of the personal content of kinship which in other societies are in accord with its formal content may be in conflict in the Trobriand system, and vice versa.

As a function of personality development the psychological incest taboo between brother and sister may in one sense be weakened by the pattern of interaction imposed by the Trobriand kinship system and local group, since the Kiriwinan child lives surrounded with "brothers and sisters" so that there is perhaps less chance than in other societies of the formation of neurotic attitudes focussed on particular individuals. At the same time the focussing of attention on the sexual relation between formal brothers and sisters through the emphasis on respect which contrasts this relationship so strongly with the freedom of the sexual relation with unmarried affinal kin may in another sense reinforce the incest taboo. But this is not the same thing as the prohibition on sexual intercourse between members of the same subclan, in which is reflected the exogamy of the subclan; in terms of this prohibition no account is taken of the existence or absence of psychological incest taboos between the individuals concerned. That is, members of the same subclan between whom incest taboos cannot have developed in terms of coresidence and personal interaction should neither have sexual relations nor marry because of the rule of exogamy, while members of different subclans are not prevented from marrying or having sexual intercourse by the rules of exogamy even though incest taboos are established between them individually, as in the cases of own or personal fathers and daughters. But apparent inconsistencies between the effects

of personal and of formal kinship should not be interpreted as indicating inconsistencies within the formal kinship system itself.

Personality develops in the formation of balanced attitudes through the development and adjustment of ambivalences and conflicts of different kinds. For present purposes we may distinguish two main types of such conflicts. The first involves the adjustment of the individual's own affective responses and impulses to one another; the psychological incest taboos may be said to relate to this type of conflict, since they involve ambivalent attitudes towards individuals of the opposite sex, the sexual drive tending toward interest in them while other elements in the personal relationships inhibit its expression so that it is sublimated or repressed. The process of sublimation or repression may be partly rationalised in terms of the socially determined elements in the relationships, but it involves also the adjustment of the individual's drives and desires to the requirements of society; and herein may be found the second type of conflict, which is part of the process of integrating individuals into society, and enters into personality development at this level. The conflicts involved here are essentially between the individual's personal drives and desires and the controls society seeks to impose upon them, whereas the former type of conflict, as illustrated in the development of incest taboos, is the result of the focussing of ambivalent attitudes upon the same object, whether or not the ambivalent drives are socially derived or innate in the temperament.

We may examine the second type of conflict in the relation between father and son, which is held in the present argument to be essentially the same in the Trobriands as in other societies where the child is brought up

in the elementary family. If this is so, any significant features of the father - son relationship that are not characteristic of other societies must be attributed to the nature of Trobriand social paternity, or more accurately to the formal, not the personal, aspect of Trobriand kinship. One feature of the relationships particularly stressed by Malinowski in "Sex and Repression in Savage Society" is the conflict between the father's personal attachment to his son and the culturally imposed limitations upon the ways in which he can express it. This conflict Malinowski makes the basis of much of his discussion of father right and mother right in Part I of the work; but the notion underlying his arguments, that in all societies the father's attachment and love seeks to find expression in the same way, i.e. in patrilineal inheritance and descent, appears to suggest some ethnocentricity of outlook. For although the Trobriand father cannot express his affection for his son in this particular way, yet there are other culturally enjoined ways in which he may do so. There is no socially defined "father right" or principle of patrilineal descent in the Trobriand kinship system; there can therefore be no conflict between a social principle of father right and one of mother right as the basis of the matrilineal kinship system. As we shall see later, the statuses of father and mother's brother, and the roles involved in relation to the children concerned, do not in fact conflict with each other; rather they are in terms of the formal kinship system complementary opposites. Similarly the statuses of brother and husband are to be regarded as complementary opposites in relation to that of the sister or wife. This is not to deny the possibility that individuals may wish to behave towards others in ways

not appropriate to their status relations; an individual father may prefer his son as a person to his sister's son, and wish that he could make his son his social heir. But if this occurs it is because the personal relationships of the individuals concerned have developed in ways which set up a conflict between them and the formal relations involved, not because of a conflict between the formal principle of matrilineal descent and a non-existent c- principle of patrilineal descent; and the personal relationships in such a case may be said to be deviant or maladjusted in terms of the Trobriand kinship system. Such deviation is in fact rare so far as I could discover; in the case of Chiefs, the motives impelling them to confer temporary benefits on their sons are political rather than personal, as we shall see later.

Thus incest taboos in the psychological sense and what Malinowski called the "principle of father right" are to be ascribed to what is here termed the personal level of kinship, and rules of exogamy, together with prohibitions on sexual intercourse associated with the marriage rules and the matrilineal principle of descent, which is the only recognised principle in the Trobriand kinship system, to that of formal kinship. We must regard these two levels as essentially distinct, the former as a constant and the latter as a characteristically variable factor in social systems. That is, the formal aspect of kinship provides the social context within which s personality development takes place, and affects the ways in which different aspects of the personality are expressed; but it does not determine the psychological processes involved, or the basic constellations of complexes or other psychological mechanisms, even though it determines the social

relationships, and to some extent the range of individuals, in interaction with whom the personality develops.

The Interpretation of Biological Characteristics in Kinship.

The distinguishing of two levels of significance in kinship relations implies two levels of meaning of the kinship terminology, and this is confirmed by the way in which the Kiriwinans use these terms. In day-to-day interaction where the emphasis is mainly on the dyadic relationships of individual personalities, personal names are used much more frequently than kinship terms. These on the other hand are normally used in contexts where the emphasis is on the formal relationships of the individuals participating. Thus children learn to use the personal names of their close kin in their daily interaction as soon as they begin to talk; but at the same time they learn to use kinship terms formally at e.g. harvest presentations and mortuary rituals, and to employ them to evoke formal behaviour responses in informal situations. Thus a hungry child may ask a stranger for food, addressing him or her by a term, such as "mother" or "father", "elder brother" or "elder sister", that implies its right to do so. Such behaviour usually elicits the desired response, even though the child's use of the term may be strictly incorrect; but it could hardly be supposed that the donor's response results from his or her being stimulated by the use of the term to regard the child as "own" kin of the kind indicated by the usage employed. A more reasonable explanation is that the appeal succeeds because of the adult's general sense of the obligations of his or her status, coupled with indulgence towards children in general and approval of the particular child's attempt at formal behaviour. There is thus in the use of personal

names and kinship terms an implicit distinguishing by the Kiriwinans themselves between their personal and formal relations with one another, comparable to the distinction implicit in the use by ourselves in formal, e.g. academic, contexts of forms such as "Dr. Smith" of a colleague whom in private life we should refer to as "John" if we knew him well enough personally.

It is primarily their formal meanings that are reflected in the classificatory usages of the kinship terms. In these usages biological sex and age characteristics and membership of psychobiological elementary families are recognised in some relationships and terminologically ignored in others; and we must assume that the treatment of such characteristics in the terminology is systematic. We cannot expect to find an explanation of the system underlying such usages in the psycho-biological significance of these human characteristics which, as factors in people's relationships, are always apparent and cannot be ignored, but always affect their responses to one another. Yet the kinship terms are used formally, and are associated with formal behaviour, in ways that appear to take no cognisance of difference of sex, generation or elementary family membership in some relationships where these exist, or to imply such differences in others where they do not; or to imply similarity in regard to these characteristics where dissimilarities in fact exist, and so forth.

To suggest that classificatory kinship involves, as far as such usages of kinship terms are concerned, the extension of elements of behaviour learnt within the elementary family to non-members, or especially that classificatory kinship itself derives from such extensions, implies that

the processes of extending such elements in elementary family relationships to outsiders are inherent in the nature of the elementary family itself, as either a psycho-biological or a social unit. But as already noted, as a quasi- or psycho-biological unit, that is a unit of residence which mirrors the pattern of biological sex and generation distribution and interaction associated with the processes of reproduction and maturation, the elementary family has the same form and personal content in all societies, so that if the processes of extension, or the origin, of classificatory kinship were inherent in this aspect classificatory kinship systems should be found in all societies, and should have the same characteristics in all cases. But this we know empirically is not the case. If on the other hand the explanation of the fact of classificatory kinship lay in the significance of the elementary family as a social unit, then in as much as the elementary family has such significance in all societies we should expect to find that formal classificatory kinship systems of some kind played the same part in the social organisation of all peoples; but this again does not appear to be the case empirically.

We can hardly expect to explain differences in social institutions by reference to elements in human relationships that are everywhere essentially the same. This being so, the significance of the elementary family as a quasi-biological unit of reproduction and of the psychological content of the dyadic relationships of its members as centering upon the reproductive process must be taken as constant elements in all cultures, so that factors such as e.g. the nature and range of differences in the affective relationships between members of elementary families must be treated as

constants in all social systems. But as a unit of socially defined and established statuses within wider systems of formal kinship categories and groupings both the structure and the significance in social organisation of the elementary family are variable factors in the social organisation of different peoples; and in as much as classificatory or formal kinship relates to the elementary family as a social rather than as a psycho-biological unit, any explanation of its significance as a structural element of social organisation must relate to other elements in the total situation than the biologically and psychologically determined content of the dyadic relationships of members of elementary families, to which the concept of personal kinship relates as formulated here. In considering personal kinship with reference to the social definition and interpretation of the psycho-biological roles and relationships of elementary family members, including the processes whereby the individual "learns" and adjusts to formal kinship as an element in his social environment, the analysis treats the kinship system from the viewpoint of individual members of society. Malinowski, in so far as he dealt with Trobriand kinship, may be said to have done so from this viewpoint; and it is necessary to do so as a preliminary to further analysis. But it is also necessary to examine kinship from the point of view of its significance in the total social system; that is as a system of related formal statuses and units of statuses in which biological sex, generation and elementary family membership may appear rather as referents in distinguishing than as determinants of the related statuses. Since as has been shown the formal aspect of kinship relations in this sense cannot be explained by reference to personal kinship,

the status system must be treated as existing as it were in its own right, without reference to personal kinship, if it is to be explained conceptually.

A formal kinship system as here conceived exists when terms applying to elementary family relationships are also used systematically to distinguish categories and groups in reference to their membership of which the relationships of members of a population at large are standardised, so as to provide the basis of regularity and predictability in the processes and techniques of social interaction in general. Classificatory usages of terms may occur where kinship has not this formal significance, perhaps as survivals from times when kinship played a part in the social system later taken over by formal status categories and groups of interaction distinguished and defined in other terms; e.g. of occupational or other kinds of specialisation. But where a formal kinship system in this sense is found, then we may assume that if the status categories and groups to which the term apply are to be effective as the means of standardising and regulating interaction the referents in distinguishing the statuses themselves and in classifying people as members of categories and groups must be such as to ensure as little variation as possible in their recognition and interpretation by members of the society. From this viewpoint the psycho-biological content of elementary family relationships cannot provide a uniform basis for the distinguishing of formal status categories and groups, since it is at least to a significant degree the product of the individual's affective experiences which, although they may be assumed to have the same general range of variability in all societies, are yet sufficiently idiosyncratic and subjective to be unreliable as the bases of expectations

and predictability in social interaction in general, though they may be adequate in relations with personally well known individuals. The subjective experience of relationships may to some extent affect the way in which individuals place one another as members of formal categories, e.g. as in the cases of adoption cited, where formal "elder brothers" may be re-classified "mother's brothers" etc.; but the statuses and categories themselves must be defined by more objective referents to be effective in general social interaction.

Biological sex, generation and elementary family membership are objective criteria in this sense only as their meanings are socially standardised, not as individuals may be conditioned to interpret them psychologically by their idiosyncratic personal experiences as members of elementary families. Modern child psychologists appear to agree that the critical period in the development of such interpretations of elementary family relationships is that from birth to the sixth or seventh year, and we have already seen that so far as its personal relationships with members of the elementary family are concerned the psychological context of the development of the Kiriwinan child's personality is essentially no different from that of children in patrilineal societies. Nevertheless the formal status relations of father, mother, brother and sister differ in the Trobriands from their counterparts in other kinship systems, although the experience of elementary family relationships must be assumed to exhibit the same range of uniformity and variability.

Acceptance of the foregoing argument carries two major implications. Firstly, in so far as the Trobriand kinship terms apply to the formal

statuses of members of elementary families, they must be regarded as doing so because members of elementary families are members of formal kinship categories, not because the categories themselves derive in any significant sense from the extension of relationships between members of elementary families to non-members. At the same time the kinship terms as used in reference to personal relationships between members of elementary families must be regarded as having the same range of meanings for Trobrianders as have their linguistic counterparts for members of other societies. But their meaning in the formal sense, as they refer to status categories of the formal kinship system, are essentially unique to and characteristic of Trobriand kinship and have to do with patterns of socially defined relationships which do not occur in other societies.

Secondly, the fact that the characteristics of biological age, sex and elementary family membership of the population are treated in different ways in classifying them as members of formal categories although, as we have seen, these characteristics always have the same basic significances in dyadic interaction, both emphasises the independence of the personal and the formal meanings of kinship terms and poses the question of the nature of the criteria by which these characteristics are interpreted for purposes of formal kinship. The social meanings of the human characteristics as referents in formal kinship cannot be inherent in their psychobiological nature; if they were, their social interpretation would be as uniform in all societies as are the biological characteristics themselves; but as Malinowski frequently indicated the social interpretation of such characteristics, beyond the immediate implications of the physiological

roles of the sexes, is highly variable. The fact that, for instance, difference of sex is treated terminologically in one relationship as though it were socially irrelevant in formal kinship, and in another as though it is relevant, cannot be explained adequately by inferring e.g. that in the one case there is a sense of personal unity between the individuals concerned and in the other there is not, for people do not lose awareness of their personal individuality except perhaps in highly emotional contexts of e.g. ritual or ceremonial group activities. Such phenomena of formal kinship as the merging of the sexes and generations in some usages obviously do not derive from or imply the loss of awareness of reproductive personalities, and must derive form and be explained in terms of quite different phenomena.

It is therefore justifiable for purposes of analysis of the formal kinship system to assume that the biologically and psychologically conditioned characteristics of the population have no significance other than that socially attributed to them, and that this significance is to be explained by reference to factors in the total situation other than the biological and psychological characteristcs themselves. At the same time at the level of personal kinship these characteristics have universally similar significances for individuals regardless of their social interpretation, so that to this extent we must conclude that the two levels of meaning of kinship terms and relations are essentially independent of, and neither determine nor explain, each other.

Section 5. <u>Conclusions - the Third Level of Significance of Kinship</u>.

Starting from questions posed by the marriage of Toginigini, we have arrived in this Chapter at the distinction of two levels of significance of

the Trobriand kinship system. The one, that of personal kinship, is held to derive from elements and processes that characterise personal interaction in any human society; the other, that of formal kinship, is held to be characteristic of and to derive from the structure of Trobriand society.

The development of psychological attitudes, including incest taboos and such complexes as the Oedipus, has been ascribed to the level of personal kinship, since it has been shown that while such attitudes may be extended to individuals other than members of the elementary family towards whom they are originally developed, this does not take place automatically on the basis of membership of formal kinship categories, but idiosyncratically on the basis of personal interaction. At the same time it was shown that, within structurally significant limits, the actual roles experienced between individuals may in the last analysis provide the referent in ascribing them to kinship categories, although in most cases the personal roles of individuals coincide with their formal. Thus within the subclans individuals have personal roles as mother's brother and sister's son usually with members of the appropriate formal kinship categories, and so on; but where they do not, as where the child is brought up in an elder brother's household, the elder brother may be classed formally with males of the first ascending generation, as mother's brother. But this possibility of ascription of formal kinship relations on the basis of personal interaction is limited by what was termed the structural opposition of subclan kinship to affinal kinship, so that although an elder brother or a mother's brother may become to some extent the psychological father of a child of the same subclan, they can never term one another father and son, but only mother's

brother or elder brother and sister's son or younger brother as the case may be.

We saw further that on the basis of their observable behaviour and of the pattern of personal relationships within the elementary family, there is as much reason to assume that the psychological content of these relationships are much the same for the Kiriwinan as for members of other societies as that they are different. Thus in terms of their biological and psychological relationships a man's children are no more and no less his own "kin" and "descendants" in Kiriwina than they are elsewhere, and use of the kinship terms at the personal level of meaning is conditioned by this. But in terms of their status relations as members of formal kin-groups and kinship categories the Kiriwinan father and child are affines to one another, and the formal usages and level of meaning of the same kinship terms are conditioned by this.

The distinction drawn between the processes of personal integration and incorporation may briefly be reexamined here. In so far as kinship plays a part in the personal integration of newcomers into a village group it is kinship at the personal level. Incorporation of the newcomer into the corporate group of subclan or of residents in a village takes place however at the level of formal kinship, and the formal relationships involved may or may not center upon the same individuals who provide the personal focus of integration. Thus an individual may choose to live in the same village as his personal father or some other individual with whom he has a close friendship; if the father is a member of the owning subclan of the village he may be incorporated into it in virtue of this formal relationship.

Otherwise the basis of incorporation may be his formal kinship status as e.g. an affine or a clan kinsman of a member of the owning subclan with whom his personal relationship may be secondary from the point of view of integration.

Personal kinship gives rise to elements in interpersonal relationship which are not inherent in formal, and vice versa. Personal kinship involves a man's attachment to a particular sister; he expresses this attachment in the Trobriands in the processes of gardening for her and acting as her male representative in affinal relations. In other societies the formal obligations in which he expresses the attachment may be different, or there may be no particular formal obligations involved in the brother - sister relationship, depending on the part played by kinship in social organisation. Similarly incest taboos derive from the process of personality development within the elementary family. According to the part played by kinship in the social system, they may be stressed in association with rules of exogamy, as is the case in the Trobriands with the incest taboos between those members of the elementary family who belong to the same exogamous subclan, or they may have no structural significance, as in the case of the incest taboo between father and daughter who belong to different exogamous subclans.

Personal kin are always formal kin also; but the converse is not true, since individuals belong to formal kinship categories in relation to one another whether or not they have personal relationships in terms of their membership of the categories. Thus all men are formal fathers of all males of the later generation of the subclans from which the men of their

own subclans have received wives; similarly all women are the formal mothers of the members of the succeeding generation of their own subclan, and of the subclans of other women whom they term formally "sister", and so on. It is therefore only at the level of personal kinship that the birth of a child to a married couple can meaningfully be termed the "initial situation" of kinship, and what it initiates is the child's incorporation and integration into the kinship system and into society. The contracting of marriage is however an initial situation in both formal and personal kinship, in as much as it establishes a new formal as well as a new personal relationship between husband and wife, and at the same time initiates a new formal affinal relationship between their respective subclans. But neither marriage nor the birth of the first child, which Malinowski in Sex and Repression takes as his "initial situation of kinship", in any sense initiates the formal kinship system; we must therefore if for no other reason look for the explanation of the formal kinship system outside the range of intra-elementary family relationships.

This leads us to the postulation of a third level of significance in the kinship system and terminology; that of the concept or set of concepts which we must formulate in explanation of the formal kinship system. We arrived at the two levels of meaning so far discussed through successive stages of abstraction from the empirical data. The Trobriander himself is at least implicitly aware of these two levels of meaning, as is shown by the fact that he uses kinship terms differently in different contexts, and is aware that he does so. This need not always be the case, however, since in other social systems the two levels of meaning of kinship terms may be fused

as it were, or the formal meaning may be of little or no importance, according to the part played by kinship in social structure, although personal kinship is always a significant factor in social relationships. But the Trobriander is almost certainly unaware of the third, what I shall call the structural level of meaning or significance, of kinship, which can be reached only by a further stage of analysis, not of the personal but of the formal meaning of the kinship system and terminology. That is, to use Levi-Strauss' terms as I understand them (24), the Kiriwinan has conscious models of both personal and formal kinship relations, more or less clearly formulated in values attached to the different types of relationship. The analytical model of the formal kinship system will however correspond less closely to the Kiriwinan's conscious model than will that of personal kinship, since the Kiriwinan's conscious model of formal kinship is not affected in analysis by the statistical data obtained on observed behaviour.

If only the conscious models of the Kiriwinans were taken as the basis of analysis, it would appear that normally only "true" brothers garden for women, that adult men always live in their subclan's or mother's brother's village, and so forth. But the anthropologist's analysis of the kinship system differs from the Kiriwinan's "conscious value model" to the extent that it takes cognisance of such data as that not all brothers garden for their uterine sisters, etc.; and in as much as this is the result of statistical analysis of observed behaviour, the model of the kinship system so constructed may be termed statistical. But the structural significance

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(24) In Kroeber (ed.), 1953, Social Structure, Section I D.

of kinship is to be understood after a further analysis of the statistical model of formal kinship, so that the final stage of analysis should be concerned with a mechanical model of formal statuses and their interrelationships. It is to be regarded as a mechanical model in as much as it is concerned with underlying mechanisms or principles which inform the statistical model of the formal kinship system and can be used to explain it. Thus in the analysis of the data an attempt has been made to differentiate a personal from a formal level of meaning or significance through the consideration of modes of behaviour empirically observed and statistically analysed where possible. The next stage will be to attempt to abstract the structural significance of kinship from its formal content in order to explain the formal kinship system.

The reason and justification for the attempt to find a third level of meaning in kinship phenomena is that if, as has been argued, formal kinship cannot be explained in terms of personal, another level of explanation must be sought. If the arguments and evidence presented in this Chapter are accepted, the position arrived at is that the biological and psychological characteristics of human beings, from which derives the content of personal kinship in any society, and which are essentially the same in all societies, are no more determinants of formal kinship systems, which vary in different societies, than they are of other systems of formal groups and categories that may provide the framework of other social systems, such as systems of statuses and units differentiated in terms of occupational and other types of specialised criteria. The formal kinship system is from this viewpoint to be conceived as the functional analogue in the Kiriwinan social system

of such otherwise distinguished classes, groups and categories in other more complex societies, and the explanatory concepts formulated should therefore be such that they might be applied in essence in the analysis of systems of institutionalised categories and groups based on statuses distinguished by reference to other criteria as well as by reference to kinship relations; that is, relationships having to do with sex, generation and elementary family membership. The personal aspect of these relationships, that deriving from their psycho-biologically conditioned content, is not systematic in the sense that it endows biological sex, generation and elementary family membership characteristics with standardised meanings for all members of a population such as to permit of the differentiation on the basis of these characteristics of statuses and units of statuses, and categories and groups based on these statuses, in terms of which interaction can be standardised. The formal aspect is systematic in this sense; and the notion of a kinship system must therefore refer to the formal, not the personal, aspect of kinship relations.

In the next Chapter an attempt will be made to formulate in reference to the Trobriand formal kinship system such an explanatory concept as is required in the light of the foregoing discussion.

Chapter III

Kinship and Social Structure.

Definitions of Terms.

Personal kinship may be redefined at this stage in the analysis as that element in the complex of phenomena called generally kinship which derives from the biological and psychological characteristics of human beings and enters into their dyadic interaction with each other as individual members of society. The focal or initial situation for such interaction is within the more or less universal grouping of adult male, adult female and dependant children; i.e. the elementary family conceived as a quasi-biological unit of reproduction. Within such groups differences of sex, age and similar factors, including psychological characteristics such as innate temperamental traits, condition and determine roles and relationships to some extent. To this extent, and in so far as the biological significance of sex and age and associated basic psychological traits are not culturally determined, although their modes of expression are, the significance of kinship terms as used in reference to the individual personal relationships deriving from these factors may be taken as constant in all societies; and individual variability in these relationships may also be taken as a constant factor. The terms thus used within the elementary family may be extended to refer to non-members of the group whether or not a kinship link exists with them, where there are elements in the relationship of two individuals which are felt by one of them at least to make their relationship significantly equivalent to that developed by him in interaction with a member of his elementary family, particularly that of orientation.

Thus in English society children may learn to call persons who are quite unrelated to them "Uncle" or "Aunty" and so forth; but such metaphorical usages, to which parallels may be found in many primitive societies, result from idiosyncratic affective and other elements in the relationship of the individuals concerned, and have of themselves no significance in terms of social structure. That is, they do not result from the systematic application of the criteria by which social categories are differentiated or individuals allocated to them. If the kinship terminology of a particular society involves the use of terms applicable within the elementary family in reference to social categories also, as in classificatory kinship systems, then the possibilities of idiosyncratic extension of the terminology will be subject to its significance in reference to formal categories. This is not to imply that personal relationships are not important in social organisation; evidently they always are in that they affect interaction between the members of a society in all its aspects. But they rarely, if ever, constitute in themselves the criteria by which the formal groups and defined categories of social interaction are differentiated.

In so far as the same terms are used to designate formal groups and categories as refer to different personal relationships within elementary families, they have a second meaning in this respect and we may speak of formal kinship in reference to it. From this point of view there is no difference between the relationship of an individual with a member of his or her own elementary family to whom he applies a given kinship term, and his relationship with any other individual, e.g. a classificatory kinsman,

to whom he applies the same term in designating a category to which both belong. There is nevertheless a difference in the personal meaning of the same term as applied by the individual to the member of his elementary family on the one hand and a classificatory kinsman on the other. If degrees of kinship provide one of the referents in differentiating formal kinship categories, we may expect to find them terminologically recognised, so that for example lineal and collateral kin of varying degrees would be terminologically differentiated. This might be especially likely where the kinship terminology is associated with a segmentary kinship system and organisation, but this is not the case in the Trobriands. But although terminologically differentiated categories may be assumed always to have significance at the level of social organisation, it is not to be assumed that all will have equal significance at that of social structure.

For the purpose of the following analysis, social structure is defined as a logical construct which is formulated in reference to the behaviour of a human population, and can be used to explain the characteristic formal categories and groups of the social system in terms of which the members of a society are enabled to differentiate their formal status relations with one another systematically for purposes of social interaction. The system of related concepts formulated as the logical construct is of course to be distinguished from the more or less conscious sets of values and norms of the population.

The social system is defined as a system of formal statuses, categories and groups in reference to which the interaction of a population is defined and regulated. It is the social system, of which a formal kinship system

as defined above pp. 162-163, forms part, that provides regularity and predictability in individual and inter-group interaction.

Social organisation is defined as the characteristic patterns in the dyadic interaction of the population resulting from the operation of the social system in standardising the variable factors in human relations; variations in individual motivations, values and other forms of behaviour which characterise the interaction of all human beings and the effects of which, without the regulative effect of the social system, would be equally unpredictable in all social interaction.

Personal kinship as here defined is to be considered at the level of social organisation, where it forms part of the total context within which the formal kinship system, as an element in the social system, operates. The kinship and social system is conceived as essentially static, as the requirements of regularity and predictability demand; the dynamic element in social organisation, the social process, derives from the interaction of the population in terms of the system, not from the system itself, and personal kinship is one factor in the process.

These definitions differ from those of Firth (1) in one major respect; that of the concept of structure, which is here used in reference to a level of logical explanatory conceptualisation, while the term social system is used in reference to what Firth calls structure, generally speaking. The use of the term structure here proffered is of course no more and no less arbitrary than any other, and I am quite prepared to amend the terminology

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(1) Firth, 1951, esp. pp. 28-35.

in favour of a more acceptable one, provided that the three levels of analysis are recognised by it. It may be felt that it would be more in line with current thought, and therefore perhaps less confusing, to switch around the terms social structure and social system as I have defined them here; indeed I have thought so myself. However, I use them in the ways set out above because it seemed to me in the last analysis that these usages are more in accord with the general meanings of the words. In reference to the social activities of a human population, there is a sense in which "organisation" and "system" can be empirically observed; but the application of the term "structure" to human affairs seems to me to be more metaphorical, and to involve a greater degree of abstract conceptualisation, than the application of the other two terms. Therefore I reserve the term social structure for the explanatory concept, rather than for the formal groupings or social system.

I use the term social organisation in much the same sense as does Firth (2) when he defines it as involving the idea "of people getting things done by planned action", and emphasises that this involves social factors, including the minimal selection of ends and procedures at least, while at the same time recognising the always present factor of individual variability in personal behaviour and relationships. It seems to me however that if, as he suggests (3), there is room for diversity of interpretation of a particular concept, this should be of the concept of social organisation, for such interpretative diversity in relation to this

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(2) Op. Cit, p. 36.

(3) Op. cit. pp. 29-31.

concept would then correspond with the element of diversity and impredictability in human behaviour. As he says in an earlier passage (4), "the task before (the anthropologist) is to secure the greatest degree of abstraction with the greatest degree of correspondence with reality". Flexibility of the definition of the concept of social organisation would correspond to the flexibility of empirical data at this level.

But I cannot agree with him in principle, and specifically not in reference to the concept of structure, that flexibility of interpretation of a concept, that is imprecision in definition (for if a definition is precise so must its interpretation be) is desirable on the grounds that "any science must have a budget of terms of general application, and that 'structure' may be one of these" (5). Broad definitions may be acceptable at low levels of abstraction in as much as they may deal with a wide range of phenomena, which is why I suggest that the wider range of human behaviour and the term social organisation which is applied to it both in his and in my definitions are better regarded as the proper sphere for general definitions. But the concept of social structure, as Firth says (6), "is an analytical tool, designed to serve us in understanding how men behave in their social life". This is in accord with my own view; but then he goes on "The essence of this concept is those social relations which <u>seem</u> to be of critical importance for the behaviour of members of the society,

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(4) Op. cit. p. 26.

(5) Op. cit. p. 29.

(6) Op. cit. p. 31.

so that if such relations were not in operation, the society could not be said to exist in that form" (my italics). But how is it to be decided which of these relationships "seem" to be the critical ones? Certainly there is nothing in the overt behaviour of human beings to differentiate critical, in this sense of structure, from non-critical relations; one cannot know by observation only whether a piece of behaviour is critical or not in this sense, and frequency or recurrence of overtly similar behaviour will not indicate in itself whether it represents a structural relation or not.

This conception of structure is of course in one sense precise enough; but it relates essentially to the degree of importance of relationships in a social system, judging this by the extent to which they are felt to be critical in forming the particular system. Such a conception cannot prevent anthropologists, according to their temperaments and interests, from disagreeing about the structure of a given society of itself; and in as much as the definition is clearly capable of resulting in an even wider range of interpretations when used by different workers in analysis of different societies, it can hardly be expected of itself to enable us to attain any systematic classification of social systems by reference to their structures. In other words, while such a definition of the term might lead to agreement as to what the concept of social structure should mean, it cannot be expected to lead to agreement as to the nature of the structure of particular societies amongst anthropologists. Firth's suggestion as to the desirability of the use of terms of general significance, to which I have already alluded, seems to me acceptable at this level of analysis only if it is conceded that anthropology is incapable of becoming an exact science;

but while this may in fact prove to be the case, it seems to me too early yet to accept so defeatist an attitude. On the other hand, this view will be forced upon us if we agree that the terms and concepts of the discipline are incapable of precise definition. If one line of attack leads us to this conclusion about a term, the obvious step would appear to be to change the grounds of its definition, and see whether this helps.

If structure is held to consist only in the key groupings and relationships in social organisation, the use of a special term for these may be misleading in as much as it may imply a qualitative difference between structural and non-structural relations where empirically only differences of degree exist. If on the other hand structure is conceived as consisting in all dyadic relations, as Radcliffe-Brown has held (7), it is difficult to see how it is to be differentiated from social organisation at all, so that one term or the other would appear redundant and better dispensed with in the interests of theoretical economy and clarity.

It is in view of these main considerations that I feel justified in putting forward yet another definition of social structure, and in doing so, removing the term specifically to the level of an explanatory concept.
The validity of any definition or conception rests ultimately of course upon its utility and effectiveness in the pursuit of the analytical purposes for which it is devised, and from this point of view the definitions here put forward must be assessed after the analysis of Trobriand kinship and social

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(7) 1940, passim, esp. p. 190.

structure is completed. Nevertheless certain potential advantages in the use of these definitions will emerge in the course of discussing further their conceptual implications, which we must now examine in a more general way before proceeding to apply them to the Trobriand kinship system, for the analysis of which they are propounded.

Section 1. The Formulation of the Structural Concept.

The advantages claimed for the definitions given derive from the distinctions recognised by them between the behaviour of human beings, at the level of social organisation; the formal definition and interrelation of social groups and categories, at that of social systems; and concepts which can be devised to explain these social relationships, at the level of social structure. It is not of course suggested that these distinctions are original, but only that the definitions put forward tend to recognise them more systematically than most; or rather, that the definitions should enable these distinctions to be more efficiently used in systematic analysis. Thus we may distinguish between the Trobriand subclan as on the one hand a unit of social organisation, that is as a defined group of individuals having a certain range of formal relationships with each other; and on the other as a unit in the social system, that is as the set of statuses which underlie the categories of the formal relationships of the group of individuals. The subclan may also be defined as a structural unit of social organisation; that is as the analogue in social organisation of a unit of structure, conceived as a set of explanatory concepts in the logical construct of social structure.

As such a structural unit of social organisation, the subclan may be distinguished from other recognised groupings, in which the formal relationships of the members are functions of their statuses as members also of subclans; i.e. groupings in which the formal relationships are determined by kinship, especially affinal relations. The Trobriand village is as we saw in Chapter I Part 2 and Chapter III a grouping of this kind, and from this point of view the local group may be defined as a structured, but not a structural, unit of social organisation, as the latter is here conceived. That is, the status relations of a village population are a function of the formal kinship system, in which the structural units are the subclans, so that we may say that the local group is structured in terms of kinship; but kinship is not structured in this sense in terms of the local group, although as we saw in Chapter II, Section 2, the way in which the formal kinship system works in social organisation is affected by the factor of spatial separation of the members of the subclans; i.e., by localisation as a characteristic of subclans as local descent groups, as Leach uses this term (8). From the present point of view, local grouping is regarded as a biologically determined characteristic of human populations, of the same order as sex and the reproductive process, and similarly subject to varying social interpretation in different social systems. In some societies local grouping, like occupational specialisations, may be interpreted as a referent in distinguishing the formal categories of the social system; but this is not the case in the Trobriands. Rather the Trobriand village is

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(8) Leach, 1951, Part 1.

to be regarded as the necessary context within which the formal kinship system, as the means of regulating social interaction, operates; from this point of view the local group may be said to be a spatially delimited aggregate of households, which are themselves the physical concomitants of the individual marriage contracts by means of which the formal relationships of structural units (subclans) with each other are established.

At the level of the explanatory construct, then, we have conceptual units of social structure; at that of the social system, structural units of statuses which are the analogues of the conceptual elements in the units of structure; and at that of social organisation, both structural population units the formal relationships of the members of which are analogous to and coterminous with the structural units of the formal social system; and structured units, which are permanent, like villages, or transient, like canoe crews, groupings in which the relationships of the members are formulated in terms of their status in the structural units; i.e. subclans. The formal relationships of the members of structural units are also of course structured, in terms of their status in the structural units themselves; but these statuses are not affected by such factors as local grouping or membership of canoe crews, though people's interaction in terms of relative statuses are affected by such factors. We have thus at the level of social organisation structural relationships between individuals, which are also always structured, and structured relationships, which are not always structural.

As a logical construct social structure is not itself conditioned by, or the product of, factors in social organisation which derive from the

biological characteristics of a human population. Its function as an analytical tool, as here conceived, is to explain the systematic interpretation of such characteristics which can be detected in the usages and relationships of the formal social, specifically the kinship, system. The structural concept can and should therefore be formulated in terms which do not relate specifically to such human characteristics. These are necessary attributes of all populations, and hence necessarily factors in social organisation; but at the structural level we are concerned with their social interpretation, not their biological significance. But on the other hand, social systems are attributes of the social relationships of human groups, and the form they take, including the criteria by which people differentiate and recognise their formal relationships with one another, are conditioned to some extent by their biologically and psychologically determined characteristics.

We have seen that we cannot explain the formal Trobriand kinship system by reference to these characteristics, and the concept of social structure formulated here derives from this consideration; we must thus seek to formulate the concept of Trobriand social structure in other terms than the psycho-biological elements in the relationships of the population. But the form and content of the kinship system is partly conditioned, as in any social system, by these characteristics. It would be possible to formulate conceptions of social structure as here defined in a variety of ways, without reference to any particular human society; but if such conceptions are to be useful in the analysis of social systems, they must be formulated in an idiom applicable to the interaction of human beings. That is, we

can formulate the conception of social structure only in such a way that it is capable of being related through the formal social system it should explain to human social organisation if it is to be of any value; for in the process of relating the formulated concept of social structure to social organisation both structure, however formulated, and organisation must be discussed in the same terms. Nevertheless in the formulation of the concepts of both structure and the formal social system significances are being attributed to universal elements in human behaviour which are not inherent in the psycho-biological characteristics of people which make these elements universal.

This is clearly enough seen where a formal social system comprises categories which are differentiated by reference to occupational specialisation and so forth, as is the case in complex modern societies. The economist's concepts of "producer", "consumer", "enterpreneur"; or the lawyer's of "judge", "plaintiff"; and other terms, such as "doctor", "patient", "butcher" or "baker" etc. are easily enough recognisable as denoting abstractions when used in reference to formal relationships; so much so indeed that the lawyer, economist or social scientist is sometimes accused of forgetting too readily that his concepts relate to human beings. But for certain purposes, of which the analysis of social structure is one, it is necessary, not to forget that society consists of human beings, but consciously and systematically to differentiate between, for example, the law as it affects and involves individual human beings, and the law as it exists in its own right; that is, as a structural element in a formal social system which comprises legal among other specialised institutions.

But in the Trobriands, as in many other simple societies, there are no specialised institutions relating to particular aspects of social organisation. Rather all its aspects - legal, political, economic and so forth - are functions of the one functionally generalised formal system of social categories and statuses to which the kinship terminology refers. The significance of such categories, and the structural concepts which explain them, can be discussed only in reference to the single set of terms, that is the kinship terminology; but this refers also to the personal dyadic relationships of individuals - to what has been termed here personal kinship. In personal kinship relations the term e.g. "mother's brother" (kada) may have for the individual Kiriwinan a meaning comparable to that of the term "father" for an individual member of our society; but at the level of formal kinship the term kada has a comprehensive meaning for the Kiriwinan which embraces a variety of elements that in our own society attach specifically to such distinct terms as e.g. in our political system "legislator" or "parish councillor", or in our economic system "owner" of e.g. land, fishing boats etc. as against "tenant farmer" or "crew", and so forth, where the English terms refer to roles and categories in social organisation as elements in our social system. The Trobriand kada status cannot be adequately conceptualised as the aggregate of a variety of elements which in our own social system attach to conceptually distinct statuses. Being a single formal status in a single institution with the same general significance in all aspects of social interaction, neither the kada nor any other status of formal Trobriand kinship can be interpreted by analogy with, or even in language appropriate to the analysis of, multiple

statuses in formally discrete institutions such as we find in our own society without distorting the nature and the significance in social organisation of the formal Trobriand kinship system; we must therefore formulate both the latter and its structural explanation in some other way.

Such a way may be found by further examination of the general significance of the formal kinship system in Trobriand social organisation as the analogue of functionally specialised elements in the total social system of societies such as our own. As such, the formal kinship system is no more and no less determined by the biological and psychological characteristics of the Trobriand population than is our social system determined, or to be explained, by the same characteristics in the population of this country. Kinship in our own and similar societies has largely lost what significance it once had in reference to the total social system, though of course it retains legal and other significances for individuals. But it is no longer the means of differentiating and regulating our relationships with members of our society as a whole. It is perhaps the loss of such significance which may make it difficult for us to distinguish the formal from the personal content of kinship in such societies as the Trobriand; to us in everyday life kinship is almost entirely a matter of individual and interpersonal relationships, so that when we translate Kiriwinan or other terms into English words which correspond with them from certain points of view, there is a tendency to equate the meanings of the Kiriwinan terms with these correspondences.

It follows from the above that, if the terminology and statuses of kinship are to have generalised functions, they must be differentiated by

criteria which are themselves essentially generalised, or capable of having significance in a variety of contexts. If the categories differentiated are to have significance in formal relationships for a variety of types of interaction, the referents can have no inherent significance for any specific mode of interaction, although the referents themselves must be specific for purposes of identification. In other words, the criteria of sex, generation and elementary family membership which serve in differentiating categories in the formal kinship system are specific human characteristics; but they are of themselves minimally specific in terms of modes of interaction, economic, political or any other. Their significance in reference to such modes of interaction is arbitrary, determined by the formal social system, and the pattern of differentiation and merging of these characteristics in the kinship terminology is to be explained in terms of a concept of social structure, which rests ultimately upon the hypothesis that this terminological pattern is in fact systematic.

As a concept or set of concepts constructed by analysis of the data of social behaviour to explain the characteristics of a formal social system, then, social structure is conceived as independent of, and no more determined by than it determines, the inherent biological and psychological characteristics of any human population; and formal kinship, in so far as it comprises a system of categories of general social interaction, is similarly independent of these human characteristics. The question then is: in what terms is the explanatory concept of social structure to be formulated? I shall attempt to formulate Trobriand social structure as a system of communication, consisting in a series of units of communication

in relation with each other, their internal structure comprising a set or system of modes of communication differentiated from each other in reference to the relations of each unit with other like units. The term communication refers here to a conceptual condition or state of being in relation to or with units in a systematic concept, not to any form of dynamic human communication, whether generalised or specific. I use the term "communication" not because I am consciously following any modern theory of communication or cybernetics; the concept derives specifically from consideration of the empirical data of Trobriand ethnography from the anthropological point of view, in which I have no doubt been influenced by what little I have read of communication theory. Rather I use the term "communication" in reference to the concept of social structure because such a terminology as "system of structure" and "modes of structure" would hardly be acceptable; and because on the other hand, while it might from certain points of view be preferable and easier to discuss the concept simply as a system of interrelation, this term is too general in its application to a variety of levels of human interaction to reflect adequately the specific conceptual nature of the system under consideration.

The concept of social structure put forward here is essentially static and of itself unchanging; it explains a formal system which is also conceived as inherently static, though capable of being changed as the result of the dynamic social process. The formal system gives regularity and predictability to human interaction in social organisation; the dynamic influences in social process affect it in turn through human interaction from which they derive.

A further reason for terming the explanatory concept a system of communication is that I find it easier to conceive of a static condition of being "in communication" than of being "in interaction"; for me the term interaction connotes a more specifically dynamic relation than does the term communication, though this is of course a subjective reason. However I shall use the term system of communication in reference to the structural concept and, in contrast, the term system of interaction in reference to the dynamic processes of human interaction as conditioned by the formal social system which the logical construct of social structure, formulated as a conceptual system of communication, should explain. This will it is hoped become clearer in the attempt to apply the concept to the Trobriand data, which will begin with an examination of the structure of the subclan in general terms as a preliminary to the analysis of the formal kinship terminology in the next Chapter.

Section 2. <u>The Subclan as a Structural Unit of Communication</u>.

The subclan as a unit of social organisation was defined on pp. 45-46 as consisting in a group of recognised matrilineal descendants of a mythical ancestress. It might be more accurate in consideration of its significance in daily life to call it a group of individuals recognised as members of the subclan, by virtue of their birth to women whose membership of the subclan is already established in the same way. In the discussion on pp. 182-184 of the preceding Section the subclan was further characterised as a structural unit of interaction in social organisation.

The exogamy of the subclan (<u>dala</u>) is both a function of and afactor in

its unity in these senses. The efficacy of the rule of exogamy in controlling the marriages of the subclan's members depends upon its effectiveness as a unit of interaction in social organisation, and this in turn derives from its significance as a structural unit of the formal social system. The members of a subclan are distributed amongst a set of categories deriving from its social form, to which the kinship terms apply, and which are terminologically differentiated by reference to sex and generation and, within the same sex and generation, seniority. These referents are variously ignored or recognised in terminological usages, and the way in which this is done follows systematically from the formal significance of the subclan, and can be systematically explained by reference to the concept of social structure, and the significance of the subclan as a sector of a human population which as a unit corresponds with or is the analogue of a unit of communication in the structural concept.

The general unity of the subclan is reflected in a variety of terminological usages. A member of a subclan refers to its other members collectively as <u>veyagwa</u>, "my kinsfolk", in contrast with members of other subclans who are classed as <u>tomakava</u>, "strangers"; or as <u>veyagwa mokwita</u>, "my true kinsfolk", in contrast with members of other subclans of the same clan (<u>kumila</u>). These in turn may be referred to as <u>kakaveyagwa</u>, "my pseudo-kinsfolk", in contrast with members of the other clans. These terms are rarely if ever used within the subclan to differentiate between "true" and "classificatory" kin, or rather, in the Kiriwinan kinship system between what I have termed personal and formal kin; this distinction cuts across that between uterine and classificatory kin in many cases.

Nor are these terms ever used in reference to affines of members of the subclan.

The affines of all members are referred to collectively as da veivaisi, "our (exclusive plural) relatives-in-law". The term is rarely heard in its singular form, to distinguish a man's personal affines from those of the rest of his subclan. Its primary meaning is that it distinguishes collectively between all the members of all the subclans with which the speaker's subclan has an affinal relation, and all the members of all the other subclans, including those of the speaker's clan, with which his own subclan has no affinal relationships.

Within the subclan the men refer collectively to the women as ludetasi, "our (exclusive plural) sisters, or siblings of the opposite sex", and the women use the same term in reference to the men. Both men and women refer to the other members of the subclan of the speaker's sex as tuwadasi, "our elder siblings of the same sex", or bodadasi, "our younger siblings of the same sex", according to the speaker's relative seniority, not that of the other members of the subclan individually. Men refer collectively to their affines of the same sex as luboudasi, "our brothers-in-law", or perhaps more accurately in its primary meaning "husbands of our 'sisters' and 'brothers' of our wives". Women similarly use the term ivadetasi in reference to their affines of the same sex. With the exception of the terms tuwadasi and bodadasi which recognise relative seniority within the same generation and sex and are employed reciprocally, all these terms are used selfreciprocally; that is the same term is used as its own reciprocal. The term tubudasi, which carries the primary meaning of

"members of alternate generations to Ego's within the subclan", and is also used self-reciprocally, is often used when less emphasis is placed on the formal aspect of their relationships by both men and women for all their affines collectively, or for people who are eligible as affines.

These usages and others which we shall discuss in the next Chapter reflect the unity of the subclan in relation with other subclans both at the level of social organisation and at that of the social system. At the level of social structure, the conceptual unit of communication corresponding to the subclan at the other levels may be defined as consisting in a set of related modes of communication in a relation of communication with other like units. Within the unit of communication modes are distinguished by reference to the relations of communication between the unit and other like units. The relation of communication is the conceptual analogue of the affinal relation by marriage between subclans at the level of social organisation, where the structural relation between subclans as structural units of social interaction is expressed in the marriage contracts between representative members of the subclans. These contracts are held to provide the bases of all formal interaction between the corporate subclans and their individual members and, in as much as local and other groups are structured in terms of formal kinship, between other corporate groups also, in so far as the relationships of individuals and groups require systematisation in social interaction.

<u>The Unit of Structure</u>.

The unit of communication in the conceptual system of communication in terms of which is formulated the logical explanatory construct of

Trobriand social structure is conceived as consisting in a set of four modes of communication. These may be defined as elements in the unit of structure which are distinguished in reference of the relations of the unit with other like units, two of which are passive, that is indirectly involved, in these relations and two of which are active, that is directly involved in them. The two active modes are distinguished as the originative-receptive, termed for convenience the originative, and the transmissive modes. The originative active mode is the element in the total unit in reference to which communication relations with other units obtain; the active transmissive mode is the element in the total unit in reference to which such relations with other units are established. The passive modes are distinguished as the latent and the quiescent; the former is conceived as the element of the total unit which is indirectly involved in its relations of communication with other units, but might be directly involved; the passive, as the element that was, but is not longer, directly involved in these relations. The originative mode is conceived as in a state of communication with originative modes of other units through the transmissive mode of one or the other unit. The latent and quiescent passive modes are conceived as involved, as parts of the total unit, but not significant, in states of communication between units in which the active modes are significant.

Formal Interpretation of Biological Characteristics.

The significances of biological sex, generation and elementary family membership in formal kinship are explained by reference to these concepts, and they are held to have no significances in formal kinship other than

those explicable in terms of the structural concepts. Thus the significance of the biological male sex in formal Trobriand kinship relations is explained on the hypothesis that it is the analogue in formal social relationships of the active originative-receptive mode of the concept of structure, and that of the female sex on the hypothesis that it is the analogue of the active transmissive mode. Similarly the formal significance of human marriage is explained on the hypothesis that it is the mechanism in which is expressed the formal relationship which is the analogue in formal relationships of the conceptual relation of communication between units. The social attribution of the significances thus explained to the one sex or the other, or to the quasi-biological relationship socialised in marriage, is apparently arbitrary; that is, it is not possible to demonstrate precisely why the sexes and the marriage relationship should be socially utilised or interpreted in these ways, although we may note their general utility as referents and mechanisms in distinguishing and relating categories and groups of formal social interaction.

Similarly the fact that one sex rather than the other has one type of social significance rather than another is to be assumed to result from factors of historical accident. There is no conceptual reason why the social significances explained in terms of the originative and transmissive modes of a unit of communication should be attached to one sex rather than the other. In terms of interaction the Trobriand woman both originates and receives quite as freely in various ways as do women in other societies, and men are capable of transmissive roles individually in interaction. In other kinship and social systems the social significances of the biological

sexes could theoretically be reversed, or both modes of social significance might be attributed to the sexes equally.

In the Trobriands, although the transmissive mode usually is reflected in the social significance of the female sex, it may on occasion operate equally well, as it were, through men. Thus in political relationships, if the members of a subclan or village, wishing to establish a formal affinal relationship with a Chief, have no mubile girl to give him to wife, a man may be married to the Chief instead. The Chief and his "male wife" (tokwava) do not cohabit, even symbolically, for the basis of such a marriage is not biological sex and the personal relationships of a man and a woman, but the political relation between structural units of social organisation. The male wife is replaced by a female as soon as possible, so that a personal sexual relationship may as it were reinforce the political; but the marriage with the male wife is in itself complete, in the sense that a full affinal relationship of economic and political formal interaction is established by its contraction between the Chief and the subclan which gives him the male wife.

Such social significances as these which in the Trobriands are attached in a particular way to the human characteristics may be differently attached to the same characteristics in other social systems and, in others again, may attach to quite different referents, as is the case in largescale complex societies where the formal categories of social interaction are differentiated by reference to occupational or other forms of functional specialisation of roles. But if these significances do attach to sex and marriage in a certain way, the pattern of terminological usages in regard to sex, generation

etc. follows logically from it and can be systematically explained by regarding the terminology as expressive of the grouping and regrouping of sexes and generations in terms of structural communication units of various orders. Analysis will be helped if the communication units are diagrammatically represented and juxtaposed with diagrammatic representations of the sexes and generations in a unit of population.

The Structure of Units of Communication.

Diagram 1 in the Appendix represents schematically the units of communication of the concept of social structure and their component modes. The large lozenges denote units of communication, and enclose symbols representing four modes in each total unit. The arrows represent the interrelation of the unit with other units through the modes. Within the units the symbols used are the same as those for male and female sex and for both sexes together; respectively the triangle, circle and the small lozenges. In subsequent diagrams these signs represent sex differences as characteristics of human beings; here however they represent conceptual modes of communication, and are used because these modes are conceived as expressed in a particular way in the sexes in the Trobriand systems; but the same or similar conceptual modes of communication might in other social systems be found to be differently expressed in the sexes, when the symbols would be used differently, if they could be used at all. As regards the social meaning of the sexes in the Trobriand kinship system however, the hypothesis is made that the general status of the male sex in formal interaction is the analogue of that of the originative mode of communication, and that of the female sex, of the transmissive mode, and the male and

female symbols are used accordingly to indicate the appropriate modes in the unit of communication.

The triangles and circles in Diagram 1 then represent the two active, originative and transmissive, modes of each total unit of communication. The small lozenges represent the two passive modes in each unit; the upper represents the quiescent, and the lower the latent, passive mode. The arrows show the relations between the originative mode of each unit and originative modes in other units, through the transmissive mode of its own or through that of another unit. Conceptually the unit of communication cannot establish a relation of communication with itself because of its unitary nature; such a relation can only be established between it and other units. Conversely, two units can be said to be in a state of communication only when the originative mode of one is brought into relation with that of the other through the transmissive mode of one or the other unit. The transmissive mode of the one unit is then in a direct relation with the originative mode of the other unit; but the originative mode of the first is in an indirect structural relation with the originative mode of the second unit, and the remaining modes of both units are similarly in indirect structural relations with each other. Within each unit the originative and transmissive modes are in a direct structural relation with each other and with the two passive modes; but the structural relation between the two latter is indirect, through the active modes.

The transmissive and originative modes are distinguished from each other by reference to their positive significances in the unit's relationships with other units. The two passive modes have negative significances

in such units, as it were, their relation with modes of other units being consequent upon the positive significances of the active modes. No distinction can thus be drawn conceptually between active and passive elements within passive modes; but they can be conceptually distinguished from each other by the nature of their passivity. The latent passive mode is thus conceived as a state of potential active communication, the quiescent as one of no potential activity - of "having been but being no longer active". Thus the distinctions made between the component modes of the unit of communication are all contingent upon the existence of a state of communication between it and other like units, but not with any particular unit. But so far as other units and their component modes are concerned, they exist and are distinguishable in relation to a given unit only in so far there exists a state of communication between it and them; so far as a given unit is concerned, the relations between other units are irrelevant unless they also have a direct relation with itself.

The Conceptual Structure of the Subclan.

We may begin to analyse the formal composition of the Trobriand subclan by considering what would be the logical consequences of translating this conception of a structural system of communication into the idiom of biological sex and generation referents. The social meaning of the sexes would be their statuses in a system of formal relationships as analogues of the component modes of the units of the system of communication; and they would be formally distinguishable only in relationships where their statuses were analogous to the active modes; where they were analogous to passive modes, they would be formally indistinguishable. The relationships

concerned would be those of marriage, which as a social contract would have meaning only as the analogue of the relation between units of communication. That is, the formal significance of the marriage contract would be that it were the means of establishing a formal relation of interaction between units; from this point of view its function in establishing elementary families would be incidental to that of establishing the formal affinal relationships between units. The subclan as a matrilineal descent group would become socially meaningful as a unit of social interaction as the analogue of a unit of communication only in so far as it had affinal relationships, as analogues of states of communication, with other like units.

Unity of the Subclan and Opposition and Equivalence of Statuses.

As such a unit the subclan would have both structural and social unity. Its structural unity would relate to its significance in the social system as the analogue of a conceptual unit of communication, consisting in a set of related formal statuses in the kinship system; its social unity would relate to its significance as a corporate group of members of the total population, and would derive from its members' solidarity and inter-dependence as expressed in and developed by their corporate interests and activities. That is its structural unity would relate conceptually to its significance in formal kinship, and its social unity to its significance in personal kinship, in the organisation of the social interaction of the total population.

Similarly the notions of structural and social opposition may be related to the formal and personal levels of kinship. The statuses and

status categories of formal kinship may be said to be structurally equivalent where they are explained as the analogues of the component modes of the same unit of communication, and to be structurally opposed when they are analogues of modes of different units of communication. Thus the statuses and categories of subclan kin are structurally equivalent, but those of affinal kin are structurally opposed, though their opposition is complementary. But the structural equivalence of statuses and categories of subclan kin does not necessarily imply their social equivalence also, since the referents, especially that of sex, by which the statuses are distinguished and individuals are classed into the categories of each status may preclude the possibility of transference of individuals between structurally equivalent status categories. Thus the formal statuses of brother and sister are structurally equivalent, but the sex referent normally precludes the terminological grouping of males in a female category, where their statuses are analogues of active modes of communication; where they are analogues of passive modes they may be classed together since their biological sex is then socially irrelevant, as it may also be in other special cases, e.g. that of the "male wife" already referred to (p. 196). But the statuses of e.g. husband and wife are both structurally and socially opposed, those of brother and brother both structurally and socially equivalent, etc.

The notions of equivalence and opposition center upon the possibility of the interchangeability, or substitution, of modes of communication at the structural level, and of individuals at that of social organisation. Modes of communication in the same unit are thus conceptually interchangeable

without affecting the significance of the unit as such. The members of a subclan are similarly interchangeable, except that social opposition of their formal roles may preclude substitution where it is structurally possible; i.e. where it would not affect the nature of the total subclan as an exogamous unit. Social equivalence in this sense does not imply interchangeability of personalities; individuals' sex and age characteristics are always apparent and affect their interaction even when they are formally irrelevant, and their personalities are always distinct even in the absence of obvious sex or age differences between individuals. I am not suggesting that any user of the term social equivalence has in fact ever supposed that individuals literally lose, or fail to develop, awareness of themselves or of others in social relationships as separate beings; I wish merely to avoid any imputation of such a conception in the notion of social or structural equivalence as here put forward.

Direct and Indirect Relations between Statuses.

Status relationships may also be distinguished as structurally direct or indirect. At the level of the structural concept, we have seen that certain modes of communication are to be regarded as in direct relations with each other, and others in indirect relations, through the direct relations of other modes. Thus the active modes of communication of a unit are in a direct relation with each other, and with its two passive modes; and each active mode of one unit is in a direct relation with its "opposite number" in other units where a relation of communication exists between them; as where the transmissive mode of one unit is in a direct relation with the originative mode of another. But all other relations

between modes of units of structure are indirect; within the unit that between the two passive modes is indirect, through the active modes of the same unit; and where a state of communication exists between two units through the transmissive mode of the one and the originative mode of the other, the relations of all other modes in both units with each other are indirect, through the originative and the transmissive modes of the units respectively. Those status relationships in the kinship system which are the analogues of the direct relations between modes of communication of the units of structure may be said to be structurally direct; those which are the analogues of indirect relations between modes, to be structurally indirect. Thus the formal statuses of husband and wife are explained as the analogues in the formal social system of the transmissive (wife) mode of one unit of communication and the originative (husband) mode of another in a relation of communication (marriage) with each other; the two modes are in a direct relation, and the relation of husband to wife is thus regarded as structurally direct. That between brothers-in-law on the other hand is not; their statuses are the analogues of the originative mode of one unit of communication in a relation of communication with that of another through the transmissive mode of one or the other unit; the status relations of brothers-in-law are therefore structurally indirect. Similarly the relation between the statuses of brother and sister, child and mother and mother's brother within the subclan are structurally direct; but the relation of alternate generations is structurally indirect. All affinal relationships other than that of husband and wife will be found to be structurally indirect; this includes of course the relation between the

the statuses of father and child. But of course people have direct relations with each other in social interaction as regulated by all these relationships.

It will be apparent from the foregoing that while the formal significance of the sexes in the kinship system is explained by reference to the differentiated active modes of the unit of communication, that of generations is explained by reference to the two passive modes as well. The two active modes in Diagram 1 together have a relation to the two passive modes which is analogous to that of a middle generation in a human population to an ascending and a descending generation. From this point of view, the status of the ascending generation is the analogue of the quiescent mode, and that of the descending generation of the latent mode, of the unit of communication. But the ordinary member of a human population may expect to interact with representatives of five discernible human generations, including his own, during his lifetime. From the point of view of the individual, in various formal relationships all five such generations, or any combination of three successive ones, may be the analogue of the unit of structure. We may then say that where the status of a generation in relation to that of Ego is the analogue of the active modes of communication, the sexes will be terminologically differentiated, and the generations also. But where the status of a generation is the analogue of a passive mode of communication, the sexes cannot be terminologically distinguished since they will have no formal significance, and the generations will be terminologically merged. From the viewpoint of an Ego in the middle one of five generations, however these five generations are grouped, as a single

unit or by successive groups of three, the alternate generations are always analogous to passive modes of communication, whereas the proximal ones are not always so.

That is, in those relationships of subclan kinship which are structurally indirect as this was defined on p. 203, as are the status relationships of members of alternate generations, both sexes have the same formal significance and cannot be terminologically distinguished. But in structurally direct relationships the biologically distinct sexes and generations are merged in some and distinguished in others of the usages.

The Structural Explanation of Formal Kinship Usages.

Thus the procedure of "expressing" the structural concept in the relations of the sexes and generations of the population will not explain these formal usages of itself. Some elements in the formal terminology as it applies to statuses and status categories can be explained conceptually by direct reference to the structural concept; but others would have to be regarded as it were as resulting from the "expression" of the concept of the system of communication in the particular cultural idiom of sex, generation and elementary family membership; i.e. kinship in the general sense. The procedure can explain conceptually the general social significance of the biological referents in formal relationships, and thus why they should be terminologically distinguished in some and merged or ignored in others; but it cannot in itself explain conceptually the specific pattern of merging and distinguishing usages in the terminology, and associated elements of formal behaviour. It is as though in being expressed in the idiom of kinship the structural concept acquired characteristics which were not as it

were inherent in itself.

Thus the structural significance of marriage as an element in the formal kinship and social system is explained on the hypothesis that it is the analogue in social organisation of the state or relation of communication in the logical construct of the structural system of communication. But there is nothing in the concept of the state of communication that determines its expression in marriage as against other contractual relations of institutionalised human groups, and it could equally well be applied for analytical purposes to the relations of such groups whether they were distinguished by kinship and descent or other cultural referents; an attempt will be made in a later work to apply a similar conception to the consideration of European influences in the Trobriands. But granted the "expression" of structure in the idiom of kinship and descent, the resulting institutionalised relationships will have characteristics specifically conditioned by the nature of the idiom.

Thus the structural principle explaining the rule of exogamy may be formulated as being that the relation of communication cannot exist within a unit in the system of communication but only between different units. But rules of exogamy express this principle in a form conditioned by the fact that there is no inherent impossibility of marriage between members of human groups except in so far as the definition of the contract and the social constitution of the group renders it impossible, whereas their structural significance can be explained on the hypothesis that there is no possibility of formal communication within the unit of structure. Similar considerations must be taken into account in attempting to explain the

structural significance of the relationships distinguished in the formal usages of the kinship terms, which must be understood as referring to the statuses and categories of individuals not as distinguished by the social significance of sex, generation and elementary family membership in general, but to their significance in the particular relationships of individual members of the population with one another as conditioned by their psycho-biological life cycle; specifically by the successive stages in the individual's social career from birth to death, during which his statuses as a member successively of three general social generations condition his formal relations with members of five successive human generations.

Diagram 2 in the Appendix represents the explanation of the usages of subclan kinship by the conceptual application of the structural concept of the unit of structure to the five successive generations of the population of a subclan with members of which each individual normally interacts during his or her lifetime. In Diagram 2B the triangles and circles represent collectively the men and the women of each of a span of five generations of the subclan. A and C represent units of communication as analogues of which the five generations could be variously grouped from the viewpoint of an Ego in the middle generation. The unit of communication A indicates the structural grouping of three social generations represented by the living population of the subclan at a given point in time, or by the total population of the subclan, living and dead, at any time; it is this structural aspect of the subclan as a total unit that is reflected in the collective usages referred to on pp. 191-193. In particular the collective use of the term <u>tubudasi</u> may be said to distinguish the status of Ego's

contemporary generation of social adults (married men and women) from the social generations of "pre-adults", including unmarried adolescents, children and unborn "descendants" of the subclan, and "post-adults", widows and widowers and the dead ancestors of the living social adults. From this viewpoint the statuses of Ego's generation of social adults would correspond to the active modes of a unit of communication, and those of the two others to the two passive modes; Ego's generation would thus be that of the social "males and females" of the subclan, while the other two generations would be socially "sexless" and thus terminologically indistinguishable. But it is only proximal "social" generations that are merged in this collective usage in contexts where the emphasis is upon the total unity of the subclan as against other subclans; in the internal status relations of the members the proximal genealogical generations are terminologically distinguished from the alternate, which are merged in the selfreciprocal use of the term tabu (v. pp. 257 ff.)

Diagram 2C represents from the viewpoint of an Ego in the middle generation of B three possible ways of grouping the successive generations as analogues of units of communication. The relation between the statuses of generation B 1 and Ego's generation can only be analogous to that between the quiescent and the latent passive modes of unit of communication C 1. But the status of generation B 2 may be the analogue of either the active modes of unit C 1 or the quiescent mode of unit C 2; and the status of Ego's generation, B 3, may be the analogue of the latent mode of C 1, the active modes of C 2 or the quiescent mode of C 3 variously in relation to that of other generations. Similarly generation B 4 may be the analogue

of the latest mode of C 2 or the active modes of C 3, while generation B 5 can only have a status in relation to generation B 3 which is the analogue of the latent mode of unit C 3.

Where the diagrams suggest possible alternative structural interpretations of the statuses of the middle and the two proximal genealogical generations, the one "selected" and expressed in the formal usages is that which relates to the basic significance of the relation with the generation concerned in the social career of Ego's generation. In the relation with the first ascending generation this significance derives from the individual's "initiation situation" in the kinship system, when as a physically immature baby or child he is unmarried and thus socially immature also. In this situation his status in relation to that of the first ascending generation is the analogue of the latent mode of unit C 1 in relation to its active modes, and this conditions the usages between the members of Ego's and those of the first ascending generation, and at the same time those between Ego's and the first descending generation, in the relation with which Ego's generation has the status analogous to the active modes of unit C 2 and the first descending that analogous to the latent mode of the same unit in the "initial situation" of the descending generation. It is of course the formal status relations of members of proximal generations that are "crystallised" as it were in this situation and condition the formal usages. The relative roles, prestige and seniority of the generations in the internal systematic organisation of the subclan also relate to their formal statuses, of course; but during the lifetimes of the members Ego's generation will normally become socially "adult", and change its effective roles and status in the formal relations

of the total subclan by marrying, before the first ascending generation ceases to be socially adult by the same criterion; while the first descending generation will similarly normally become socially adult before Ego's generation ceases to be so, whether through divorce or death of the members.

The alternate generations in Diagram 2 B however are not involved in one another's "initial situations" directly, either structurally or normally empirically; from both the structural and the practical viewpoints their relations are essentially indirect through the intermediacy of the proximal generations. Moreover, generally speaking, by the time Ego's generation becomes socially adult the alternate ascending generation will be socially "post-adult", its members dead, widowed or simply too senile or infirm to play an active part in the formal relations of the total subclan; similarly by the time the alternate descending generation attains social maturity Ego's will be socially "post-adult". The relations between members of Ego's own generation derive their formal significance from their status as analogous to active, originative and transmissive, modes in the middle structural unit and social generation even in the "initial situation" of formal kinship, since this will be the basic structural significance of their relations with one another as physical and social adults. Following the hypothesis that the social significance of the biological sexes and generations can be explained in reference to the structural concept, we shall expect that alternate generations will be terminologically merged, being formally indistinguishable as "non-adult" and "sexless"; similarly the first ascending generation and the sexes within it will be

terminologically distinguished, as will be the sexes in Ego's generation, while the first descending generation will be terminologically distinguished, but the sexes will be merged within it.

Thus the social significance of biological sex, generation and elementary family membership as conceptually explained by reference to the structural system of communication may be said to be expressed in the formal usages and relationships of kinship from the point of view of individual members of the subclans as structural units of social organisation. Their expression in the terminology of subclan kinship is conditioned by the changes in the individual's statuses in his social career, which are themselves the consequences of the biological characteristics of human beings, as they are born, mature, reproduce, become senile and die; but these characteristics are not determinants of the structural significance of kinship relations as here defined. Within the subclan members of five genealogical or biological generations are classed into four (counting as one the terminologically merged alternate) terminological and formal generations for formal purposes, though from the point of view of its significance as a total unit in relation with other units only three social generations can be formally distinguished. We shall see in the next Chapter that in formal affinal relationships the usages distinguish in Ego's relations with members of other subclans sometimes only one, sometimes two, formal generations, as though in one relationship the whole subclan constituted a single structurally active generation, while in another it comprised one structurally active middle generation of social adults and two structurally passive and terminologically merged alternate

generations, the ultimate referent in the formal usages being the structural status of Ego's generation of his subclan in the formal affinal relation between the total subclans.

The Structural Significance of Rank.

Rank is regarded structurally for the purpose of the present analysis as an attribute of total subclans which can be explained as the analogue in social organisation of a characteristic of some units of communication whereby they become foci in the system of communication, so that the relations of other units of communication are centered upon a unit possessing this characteristic, and are thus indirectly related to each other structurally whether or not they are also in direct relations of communication with one another. Relative rank has no effect on the kinship terminology, being expressed in a terminology of its own, and members of the same subclan have the same formal rank irrespective of seniority within the subclan or of sex (8). Rank as an attribute of total subclans as structural units of social organisation is primarily manifested in the affinal relationships of individual heads of subclans however, upon whom affinal relationships of political importance tend to be focussed as individual representatives of their subclans as local descent groups. Since it does not affect the kinship usages with which we are primarily concerned here and in the next Chapter discussion of its significance will be deferred to Chapter V, although structurally it is regarded as an element in the formal kinship system.

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(8) Cf. p. 45, and Malinowski esp. 1929, pp. 25, 26, 421; 1935 I, pp. 33 f.

Section 3. Summary.

In the present Chapter an attempt has been made to show how the kinship system may be explained in general terms at the level of its formal significance in the social system by the development of a concept of social structure phrased in terms of a system of communication. It has been argued that the assumed systematic nature of formal kinship can be explained only in terms of such a hypothesis, whether or not it be called social structure; but it is suggested that this term should be used for explanatory concept on the grounds that a term is required to distinguish the concept from what it is intended to explain, and that the notion of structure as applied to human relationships is more metaphorical than those of system and organisation. The latter are empirically observable, in formal categories and relationships, in a way that structure is not; hence it is felt that the notion of structure is better conceived as relating to the explanatory construct than to the social system itself. The terms social system and social organised are thus used in reference to the lower, and social structure to the higher, levels of abstraction in analysis of human relationships.

The structural concept as formulated cannot, and is not intended to, explain the kinship system in the sense of accounting for its historical origin. But potential advantages can be indicated in the use of the referents of kinship for purposes of social organisation in societies characterised by the general absence of specialisation of social roles towards particular types of interaction - economic, political etc. - which might themselves serve as referents in the distinguishing of formal

categories and units of interaction. There is of course always some degree of specialisation in the activities of people, whether it is socially institutionalised or simply the spontaneous manifestation of personal skills and preferences; but before specialisation can become the basis of a social system, it must logically be capable of systematic interpretation throughout the population concerned, and there must be some social utility in institutionalising it. Whether or not such conditions exist appears to be a function of the scale of the human population concerned and the complexity of distinguishable aspects of its interaction; but, as Firth (9) and others have pointed out, however small scale and simple a society may be, there is always the need of a minimal degree of regularity and predictability in the interaction of its members.

The utility, as it were, of kinship from this point of view in such societies may be related to the fact that while sex, generation and elementary family membership are specific criteria in the sense that they are always readily discernible and systematically applicable, their significance is general, in that they are not derivatives of a specific type of social interaction, and may serve to distinguish formal statuses in any type of interaction, where the distinguishing of statuses and categories of interaction does not relate to specific types of interaction as in large scale societies it may. Hence the concept of social structure was formulated for the purpose of the present analysis as a generalised system of communication. If on the other hand the formal social system consisted

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(9) Op. cit., pp. 30-31. Cf. Fortes 1953; the Trobriand is regarded here as a "middle range" system.

in statuses and categories of specialised types of interaction, e.g. "producer and consumer" in economic or "legislator and administrator" in political institutions, the explanatory construct of social structure would have to be formulated in terms of specific conceptual types of interaction also.

In the case of the Trobriands, then, social structure is conceived as consisting in a system of units of communication in relation with each other, each unit comprising two active and two passive modes of communication. In this sense communication is conceived as being a state in which units are in a relation with each other without specific connotations as to the nature of the interaction involved. The system is conceived as inherently static, but capable of being expressed in any form of dynamic interaction of the human population. This concept of social structure is not itself the basis of formal relationships between the members and groups of the human population; rather it is conceived as explaining the social interpretation of the sex, generation and elementary family membership referents as they serve to distinguish the statuses and categories of formal interaction. The formal system of interaction has characteristics which are not essential in the structural conception, but which derive from the nature of the idiom (sexes etc.) in which the statuses of the system are formulated; and this will enter into the analysis of the kinship terms.

Chapter IV

The Kinship Terminology

We shall begin this Chapter with a general examination of the structural explanation of the terminology of subclan membership, and then analyse the terms individually, first those of subclan and secondly those of affinal kinship.

The analysis rests ultimately upon the assumption that the formal kinship terminology and relationships have a systematic pattern and can be systematically explained (1). Thus the terminological merging and distinction of the sexes and generations is held to follow a consistent and systematic interpretation of their social significance. As their biological significance does not vary, either in general or in the perceptions of individuals, their terminological treatment cannot be systematically explained by their significance in social relations at the psycho-biological level. The concept of the structural system of communication was therefore formulated in order systematically to explain the social interpretation of the biological phenomena. But the terminology and formal relations of kinship have social meanings in relation to the individual members of society, so that in the analysis of the terminology the analytical tool social structure must be applied within the context of the span of generations and sexes with which the members of the society are likely to interact during their lifetimes. It is thus by applying the structural

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(1) Cf. Radcliffe-Brown, 1941, pp. 53-54.

concept to the relationships of an individual with a span of five generations of the human population that I shall attempt to explain the formal characteristics of the Trobriand kinship system.

Section 1. Social Structure and the Usages of Subclan Kinship.

We shall begin with a general discussion of the way in which the sexes and generations of the subclan are terminologically merged and differentiated by relating the sexes and generations to the structural concept, without reference to the specific terms. Each unit of structure consists in four modes of communication, two active and two passive, which are conceptually distinguished by reference to the relation between the unit and other units, the units themselves also being conceptually distinguished by being in relations with other like units. In Diagram 3 of the Appendix, C represents five generations of a subclan, each sex symbol denoting all the members of each sex in each generation. The five generations shown represent the generation span of the members of the subclan with which each individual member is likely to interact at different periods of his life. Diagram 3 A represents the three units of communication as analogues of which each trio of successive generations in the span of five could be grouped. It will be recalled that in the diagram of the unit of communication the large lozenge represents the total unit, and the symbols within it its component modes; the triangle represents the originative-receptive active mode, the circle the transmissive active mode, the upper small lozenge the quiescent and the lower the latent passive modes. Unit C 2 may be imagined as superimposed on units C 1 and 3.

In 3 B the terminological merging and distinguishing of the sexes and generations in the kinship usages is represented. Here the symbols denote terminologically distinguished statuses as seen from the status of a male Ego in the middle generation. The triangles represent statuses in which male sex is terminologically distinguished from female, and the circles statuses of the female sex where differentiated from those of the male. The lozenges represent the statuses of generations in which sex is not terminologically distinguished. The arrows indicate the merging of the statuses of preceding and succeeding generations with the first and last represented. In Ego's generation the three male symbols indicate statuses distinguished by seniority within the sex, and the single circle the single distinguished status of the opposite sex. If Ego were female, there would correspondingly be three circles indicating distinguished seniority statuses in her own sex and generation, and one triangle for the single distinguished status of the opposite sex. Otherwise the substitution of a female for the male Ego would not change the diagram; but this is because the symbols refer to the distinguished statuses, not the terms which denote them, which differ in some but not all relationships for Ego of either sex, though in either case the structural explanation of the statuses concerned is similar.

The numbers by the symbols in diagram 3 C indicate the terminological usages referring to the various statuses, the structural explanation of the usage being similar whether Ego is male or female, although the terms used may differ. The usages are numbered in the order in which the terms are discussed in the next Section. The numbers 5 and 5a, 6 and 6a in the second and fourth and the first and fifth generations indicate selfreciprocal

usages of two terms. There are in all nine usages designated by seven terms in the formal terminology of subclan kinship, which are to be explained conceptually by reference to the three possible ways, represented in diagram 3 A, of grouping the generations represented in 3 C into successive trios as analogues of units of communication in the structural concept.

In the first ascending generation from that of Ego usages B 3 and 5 distinguish the sexes of mother and mother's brother; this is explained on the hypothesis that the relation between the statuses of Ego, mother and mother's brother is analogous to that between the latent, transmissive and originative modes of unit of communication A 1. In usages B 6 and 6a the sexes are terminologically merged in the two alternate generations to that of Ego; the relation between Ego's status and that of the second ascending generation is analogous to that between the latent and the quiescent modes of unit A 1, and that between Ego's status and that of the second descending generation is analogous to the relation between the quiescent and the latent modes of unit A 3. Thus the relation between Ego's and both alternate generations is analogous to that between passive modes of communication, Ego's generation's status being analogous to both passive modes in relation to the statuses of the two alternate generations. The use of a single term selfreciprocally in these relationships reflects the structural equivalence of the statuses of the alternate generations as the analogues of passive modes of communication as well as the structural equivalence of the sexes within them, in reference to which they have no distinct formal significance and hence are terminologically merged. (cf. pp. 200-202).

Within Ego's generation the sexes are terminologically distinguished,

and usages B 1 and 2 reflect their differentiation as analogues of the transmissive and originative modes of unit of communication A 2. Usages 4 and 5a merge the sexes in the first descending generation, whether Ego is male or female; in either case the status of the descending generation is the analogue of the latent mode of unit A 3, while Ego's is the analogue of either the transmissive or the originative mode of the same unit. In usage 4 the term used by Ego female is the reciprocal of that used by Ego of either sex in usage 3; while in usage 5a the term used by Ego male is the same used by Ego of either sex in usage 5, 5a representing as already noted the selfreciprocal use of the term.

Significance of the Biological Life Cycle as a Determinant of Usages.

Usage B 2 is represented twice because relative seniority and juniority are terminologically distinguished between members of Ego's own sex and generation. These usages cannot be explained directly by reference to the conceptual system of communication, since structurally the status of all persons of the same sex and generation is conceived as the same in relation to the statuses of members of other generations. Rather the terminological recognition of relative seniority within the sex and generation is, like e.g. the rules of exogamy (p. 206), held to be a consequence of expressing the structural system of communication in the idiom of kinship relations. That is, it is held to be conditioned by the fact that within a human generation some individuals attain physical maturity before others, and are consequently earlier capable of attaining the status of social adults, by marrying and assuming formal affinal responsibilities and rights. As a child the individual's social status is analogous to the latent mode of

communication, as a social adult to that of the originative or transmissive active mode, according to sex; but while this change of status affects the individual's relation with members of his sex and generation who have not yet similarly attained social maturity because of its effect upon his place in social organisation, it does not affect the status relation between the sexes in his generation. For in the relation between the opposite sexes within the same generation, the status differences associated with membership of the opposite sex are more significant than any that may result from earlier or later attainment of social maturity; hence Ego makes no terminological distinction between senior and junior statuses in the opposite sex.

Differences of physical age between individuals, like those of sex, are of course always significant factors in personal relationships, and unlike social maturity are not contingent upon marriage; in one sense they determine the social roles of the individual. Thus while the relative seniority of the members of a generation does not affect the structural relation of the statuses of the sexes within it, it does affect the statuses of members of the same sex within it relative to one another, and is of course always an important factor in their personal relationships.

The usages represented in Diagram 3 B may thus be structurally explained as referring to statuses which in relation to that of Ego are analogues of modes of communication in the units A 1, 2 and 3. Usages B 6 and 6a thus refer to statuses which in relation to that of Ego are analogues of the quiescent mode of unit A 1 or the latent mode of unit A 3; usages B 3 and 5, to statuses which similarly are analogues of the transmissive and originative

modes of unit A 1; usages B 1 and 2 to statuses which are analogues of the originative and transmissive modes of unit A 2; and usages B 4 and 5a to a status which is the analogue of the latent mode of unit A 2. We may then say that in relation to Ego's status, the statuses of alternate generations are analogues of passive modes of different units of communication; those of the first ascending generation are analogues of the active modes of the same unit as that of the quiescent mode which is the analogue of the status of the second ascending generation; while the statuses of the sexes in Ego's generation and that of the first descending generation are analogues of the two active and the latent modes of another unit of communication.

Where the sexes are terminologically merged (usages B 4, 5a, 6 and 6a), the statuses of the generations in relation to that of Ego are analogues of passive modes of communication; where they are differentiated (usages B1, 2, 3 and 5), their statuses are analogues of active modes. We may than say that in the structural explanation of the terminology the sexes are terminologically merged where they have the same status and significance in the formal kinship and social system, and are therefore terminologically indistinguishable; similarly they are distinguished where they have distinct statuses and significances, and must therefore be differentiated; and their terminological merging or differentiation has to this extent nothing to do with their biological significances, which are always distinct, but only with their social interpretation as analogues of modes of communication.

<u>The Social Life Cycle in Relation to Kinship Usages</u>.

But in certain respects Diagram 3 A, like any other diagram, is potentially misleading. By the fact of their differential representation,

the diagram might suggest that the three units of communication A 1, 2 and 3 were conceptually or otherwise distinct in relation to the subclan as a structural unit, or that there were potentially significant structural relations between Ego's and the other sexes and generations as analogues of modes of communication which are terminologically ignored. The representation of the explanatory concept as three units of communication in relation to the terminology is necessary in order to relate both the structural concept and the terminology to the five generation span of the subclan represented, which in turn is dictated by the biological life cycle and interaction of human beings, and the need to represent the kinship terms as arranged from the viewpoint of an Ego in the middle generation of the five represented. But if we consider the subclan as a structural unit, only three social generations ever exist in its living population; these are the generations of unmarried "children", of married "adults" and of the "old", those whose marriages through the death or senility of a spouse are no longer socially effective. The kinship terminology refers to the structural statuses of these three generations as they are related to the successive statuses of an Ego as he moves during his lifetime through these three social generations, and consequently interacts with five successive human populations of these three social generations.

Diagram 3 X attempts to represent the explanation of the kinship usages from this point of view. Here the unit of communication represents the structural status relations of the three social generations discernible in the total population of a subclan. Ego's status is conceived as being successively the analogue of three of its modes of communication, according

to sex. These three statuses in differential relations with each of the other statuses not occupied by Ego in each of his own successive statuses together account for the terminological usages of Diagram 3 B. Thus Ego's social "child" or "pre-adult" status as the analogue of the latent mode in relation to the statuses of the other social generations and sexes as analogues of the transmissive, originative and quiescent modes explains usages B 3, 5 and 6; Ego male's social "adult" status as the analogue of the originative, or Ego female's as that of the transmissive, modes similarly accounts for usages 1, 2, 4 and 5a; and Ego's social "post-adult" status as the analogue of the latent mode of the unit of communication explains usage B 6a.

The social career of the individual begins in a status analogous to that of the latent mode of a unit of communication, which he enters upon his incorporation at birth into what Malinowski (2) called the "filiational or genealogical group" of Mother, Siblings and Mother's Brother. Ego's formal relationship with the sexes of the first ascending generation of the subclan at this stage of his career fixes as it were the terminological treatment of their social significance as analogues of modes of communication, whereby the status of the female as the analogue of the transmissive is terminologically distinguished from that of the male as the analogue of the originative mode in relation to Ego's status as the analogue of the latent mode. But the process of integration into the human group begins effectively with Ego's birth into his mother's family of procreation, where

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(2) 1935, I, cf. esp. pp. 200-201.

the kinship terms and relationships begin to acquire their personal meanings for him. Thus Ego's family of orientation is for him the "initial situation" of personal kinship, but in formal kinship the context of the "initial situation" is the "filiational group".

The terminology of the formal relationship between proximal generations of the subclan is thus fixed by the formal significance of their relationship to each other in the "initial situation" of Ego's formal kinship relations. But it is the formal, not the biological, significances of the sexes that is established in this situation; that is the significance of sex as a differential characteristic of the statuses of formal mothers and mothers' brothers, as against Ego's status in the marriages and elementary families of orientation of Ego's generation. At this stage the formal relationship between the sexes in these generations of the subclan is analogous to the conceptual relation between the active and the latent modes of the unit of communication. As we have seen, no distinction can be made within the latent mode between originative and transmissive modes since this distinction is a function of direct significances in the relations of the unit with other units, whereas that of the latent mode is indirect (pp. 202-205). Similarly no terminological distinction can be drawn between male and female in the statuses of "child" or "sister's child", since the formal significance of sex as explained by the concept of structure is a function of participation in formal affinal relationships, as the analogues of the structural relations between units. The members of the proximal descending generation, so long as they are in the "initial situation" of formal kinship, have no formal part in the affinal relationships of Ego's generation, and

are therefore socially sexless. But no married person is socially a child; in infant betrothal the infants are regarded as already married, and thus as social adults, so far as their formal marriage is concerned (3).

Similar considerations also explain the fact that within the same generation not only the sexes are terminologically distinguished but also, within each sex, seniority. The formal roles of brothers and sisters in each others' marriages are the essential features of their formal relationship; this is so even while as children they are still members of each others' families of orientation. At this stage the latent adult statuses of brother and sister, as analogues respectively of the originative and transmissive modes of communication, determine the terminology of their formal relationships even though as children they share a single status, the analogue of the latent mode of communication. In other words, the kinship usages between proximal generations are conditioned by their formal statuses in the ascending generation's families of procreation; and those between the sexes in the same generation are also conditioned by their latent or actual formal statuses in each others' marriages and families of procreation.

But it must again be stressed that it is marriage as a social institution, and the elementary family as a structured unit of social organisation, not as a biological or quasi-biological unit of reproduction, that are relevant as conditioning factors. Sexes and generations have social meaning in relation to Ego through the institution of marriage as the

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(3) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 83-84, esp. 89.

analogue of the structural relation of communication between units; but the terminological expression of their social meaning is oriented by the individual's passage through a cycle of statuses in reference to the same institution. Thus the merging of the sexes in alternate generations can be explained if the social meaning of alternate generations is that they are the analogues of quiescent or latent modes in a unit of communication; but that they are terminologically treated in this way rather than another results from the nature of the human life cycle, which makes interaction between members of alternate generations inevitable. But from the structural point of view, alternate generations have no direct formal status in each others' marriages or elementary families; they are consequently socially sexless in their formal relations with each other, and equivalent to each other, as analogues of passive modes in the unit of structure. Hence not only the sexes but the alternate generations are merged in a single term in relation to Ego's generation; and the self-reciprocal use of this term merges also Ego's with the alternate generations.

To recapitulate briefly the preceding discussion; we have seen that the social meaning of the sexes and generations may be explained by relating them to a series of conceptual units of communication, as indicated in Diagram 3. The expression of their social meaning in the kinship terminology is however conditioned by the process of human reproduction and maturation, which also determines the fact that it is to a span of five human generations that we must apply the explanatory concept. Thus the terminological merging of the sexes in alternate generations (usage B 6) is explained on the hypothesis that they are analogues of the latent and

quiescent modes of units of communication A 3 and A 1; and that they are terminologically merged in this way is the result of their status in relation to the elementary families of Ego's generation. Similarly usages 3 and 5 are explained by reference to communication unit A 1 and conditioned by the roles of Ego's generation. Usages 1, 2 and 4 are explained by reference to unit A 2, and are conditioned by the roles of the sexes in Ego's own generation's families of procreation, which are of course also the families of orientation of the first descending generation.

We may say then that the biological sexes as analogues of active modes of communication are terminologically differentiated in those generations of the subclan with specific formal roles in the families of orientation and procreation of Ego's generation. These are, in Ego's generation's families of orientation, the first ascending generation, of mothers and mothers' brothers; and in his own generation's families of procreation, his own generation, as brothers and sisters. In other generations than these the sexes are terminologically merged within the subclan; in these relationships, including those with the second and higher ascending and the first and lower descending generations, the formal statuses of the generations and sexes as analogues of passive modes of communication are indistinguishable.

Thus the kinship usages as applied to formal relationships within the subclan, which as a unit is itself the analogue in the social system of a unit of communication, is explained partly in reference to the structural concept of the system of communication, and partly by factors inherent in the biological characteristics of the human population. These include the processes of biological reproduction and maturation, as well as the sexes

and generations, and their grouping in the elementary family as this reflects the biological unit of reproduction. The social meaning of these universal elements in human relationships is explained by the structural concept; but the expression of their social meaning in the kinship terminology is conditioned by their significance in the biological life-cycle of the individual as this determines or affects his or her effective roles and formal status relations with others.

Section 2. The Terminology of Subclan Kinship.

In this Section the kinship terms used within the subclan will be analysed individually, discussing first those used within Ego's generation, then those used between Ego's and the proximal ascending and descending and the alternate ascending and descending generations in that order. Each term will be considered at the levels of its personal, structural and formal meanings or significances. Where a given term has different significances for Ego of either sex, or where it is used by Ego of one sex only, this will be indicated; otherwise it is to be assumed that each term has the same basic significance for Ego whether male or female.

So far as the general significance of kinship terms is concerned, it should be borne in mind that they are used as terms of both address and reference in situations or contexts in which emphasis is on the formal aspect of the relationships involved. In most situations of daily social intercourse however personal names are used by the participants, irrespective of their relative sex, age or rank. Some terms, e.g. tama (father), ina (mother) or especially tabu may be extended idiosyncratically to persons who

do not belong to the formal categories in relation to Ego, much as the English terms "aunty" and "uncle" may be extended to unrelated persons without implying the establishing of the formal relationships. But terms designating the key kinship relations, especially those used between formal "siblings of opposite sex", between formal "brothers in law" (Ego male) and "sisters in law" (Ego female) and between "husband" and "wife", are never extended in this way. It must be re-emphasised also that by definition the formal meaning of a term attaches equally to all members of the category concerned, whether they are distinguishable otherwise as "own" or personal and classificatory kin to Ego; and it is the personal, not the formal, meaning that may be extended idiosyncratically in the examples given above.

The terms are written here in their root forms, but in use are always accompanied by a possessive particle, usually suffixed tama-gu, my father, kada-la, his (her) mother's brother, but sometimes infixed, as lu-gu-ta, my sibling of opposite sex. Another form of the possessive is used with some affinal terms (cf. pp. 259 ff), but that referred to above occurs with all terms of subclan kinship. It is used also with words meaning parts of the body or objects with which the possessor has an equally intimate relationship, and may be designated the corporate or unconditional form of possessive. In any case the root form of the term is written as kada, tama or luta, the last being the first term to be analysed here.

1. LUTA. Appendix, Diagrams 3 and 4 (4).

In the personal sense this term refers to individuals brought up as Ego's siblings of opposite sex in the same family of orientation, and to the formal sister for whom Ego male gardens personally, or the formal brother

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(4) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Index s.v. Brother-Sister; esp. pp. 437-440.

who gardens for Ego female, who are not necessarily Ego's personal brother or sister in the first sense.

Structurally the term denotes a relationship in which Ego's status is the analogue of the originative mode, if male, or of the transmissive mode, if female, of the structural unit of communication, and the status of the luta is the analogue of the complementary, transmissive or originative, mode of the same structural unit.

In the formal sense the term includes in a single category all members of Ego's subclan of the same generation but of the opposite sex to that of Ego.

The formal statuses of siblings of opposite sex may be said to be structurally equivalent, in as much as they are held to be analogous to modes within a single unit of communication. They are distinguished in terms of the internal status relations of a subclan by reference to the male and female roles in formal interaction, the formal social role of the male sex being explained as that of origination and reception of formal interaction in the affinal relation established between two subclans through the marriage of the female, whose formal role is thus regarded as transmissive so far as formal affinal relationships are concerned. At the same time the formal statuses of "brother" and "sister" may be said to be socially opposed, in as much as they are characterised by difference of sex, although their opposition must be regarded as complementary in terms of the relation between formal transmission and origination - reception of interaction. We may thus explain the selfreciprocal use of the term luta as expressive of the structural equivalence of the status of brother and sister, and of the

complementary aspect of the social opposition of the roles of the sexes within the single subclan, their social opposition being apparent as it were in the biological opposition of the sexes. By contrast the status relations of formal and personal siblings of the same sex are characterised by the reciprocal use of different terms -

2. TUWA and BWADA, Appendix, Diagram 4 (5).

In the personal sense these terms refer to individuals who are brought up as Ego's senior and junior siblings of the same sex respectively in the same family of orientation. For adult Ego they may also refer to senior or junior formal "brothers" or "sisters" with whom Ego is personally associated in affinal relationships as representatives of their subclans.

Structurally these terms refer to statuses which are analogues of the same mode of communication as is Ego's status. Thus the status of all Ego's siblings of the same sex is collectively the same in relation to the status of the sexes in other generations of the subclan; the collective status of male siblings being the analogue of the originative, that of females of the transmissive, mode of the same unit of communication.

In the formal sense the terms distinguish members of the subclan of Ego's sex and generation who are respectively senior or junior to Ego. The normal referent between adults of the same generation in determining seniority is marriage; those whose marriages are of longer standing tend to play a more important part in the formal affinal relations of the total subclan, and to be termed tuwa "elder sibling of same sex" while others tend to be termed bwada, "younger sibling of same sex". Order of birth as such

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(5) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 434, 438.

is of importance primarily among members of the same elementary family, but of itself usually determines the formal use of the terms only among individuals of equivalent status in other respects. I found no recognition of genealogical seniority between collateral lineages of subclans in the use of these or other terms.

As noted the terms are used reciprocally, and their significance in distinguishing seniority is to be explained by the significance of marriage as a determinant of the statuses and roles of members of the subclan. In the conceptual unit of communication no distinction was made between senior and junior variants of the two active modes of communication and the use of these terms is not to be considered as of the same structural significance as other usages. It is rather to be considered as a direct social consequence of the biological fact that members of a social generation attain physical maturity at different times, thereby tending also to become socially adult at different times also. Marriage marks the attainment of adult status among the Trobrianders for social purposes, so that there is a fundamentally important difference between the status of married and unmarried members of the same sex and generation, which in this sense consists of all persons of a given sex who use the term <u>luta</u> towards the same persons of opposite sex. There is similarly an actual or potential difference in the seniority of members of a given sex and generation even when all are married, in terms of the relative economic or political significance of their marriages.

Thus senior and junior members of the same sex and generation may be said to be actually or potentially socially distinguishable in terms of their

status in the affinal relations of the subclan as these affect its internal organisation. But in terms of the external relationship of the total subclan with other like units they are socially equivalent, in as much as their statuses are structurally equivalent, and as members of the same sex and generation they are interchangeable so far as the formal reciprocal roles of affinal relations are concerned. So far as their status relations with the other sex of their own and both sexes in other generations of their own subclan, and with all affines, are concerned, it is their social equivalence that is the outstanding feature of the status of tuwa and bwada, and no terminological distinction is made between them in any other formal relationship than that between themselves. In other words the relative seniority of members of the same sex and generation is only significant as a determinant of kinship usages among themselves; in all other formal relations they are treated terminologically as socially equivalent.

Reciprocal and Selfreciprocal Usages.

It has already been suggested that the selfreciprocal use of the term luta may be interpreted as expressive of the structural and social equivalence of the statuses of the sexes in a single generation of the subclan. Their structural equivalence is conceptual, relating to the explanation of the formal statuses of the sexes as analogues of the active modes of one structural unit of communication. Their social equivalence may be said to derive from the complementary relation between the biologically opposed characteristics and roles of the sexes on the one hand and on the other from the complementary social relationship between formal categories of individuals of opposite sex within a single generation of the subclan.

It is as though the element of social opposition in the formal kinship relation were sufficiently apparent in the opposition of the biological characteristics and roles of the two sexes, so that the kinship terminology expresses the complementary aspect of the formal relationship by the selfreciprocal use of the single term luta between members of the categories "brother" and "sister". In this selfreciprocal usage persons of opposite sex within a single generation of the subclan may be said socially, but not necessarily psychologically, to identify themselves with one another.

The hypothesis may then be formulated that where the element of social opposition in formal status relations is apparent in difference or opposition of biological sex or generation membership there is a tendency for the kinship terminology to assert the element of social equivalence in, or the complementary aspect of, the status relations concerned in a selfreciprocal usage; but where the element of social equivalence is apparent in similarity of sex or generation membership as characteristics of members of kinship categories, the terminology tends to express the element of social opposition in their status relationships in the reciprocal use of different terms.

Formal and Social Generation Membership.

As referents in distinguishing formal statuses and in classifying individuals as members of kinship categories based on each status, biological sex characteristics are normally clearly distinguishable and applicable. But biological age may not be so readily discerned as a referent, except at the extremes of immaturity and senility. Membership of formal or social generations cannot be established in the Trobriand kinship system by reference to either genealogical relations between individuals or their

relative physical age, since normally neither is accurately known, and since in any case, as in any other society, even where they are known there is always a degree of overlap in physical age between members of proximal genealogical generations. It is often found in constructing genealogies that individuals who belong genealogically to the same generation class one another for some socially valid reason as members of proximal generations, and vice versa. Earlier or later marriage is the basic referent in the Trobriands in determining relative seniority within the same sex and generation, and is the socially valid reason for such apparently anomalous classifications of individuals because of its effect upon their status in formal social relations, which in the case of subclan "siblings of the same sex" is to introduce the element of social opposition into their formal status relations. It is this element of social opposition that is asserted terminologically in their reciprocal use of the terms tuwa and bwada, which may be said to distinguish them one from another socially, while their being of the same sex and generation of the subclan has the effect of identifying them socially, and of expressing the element of social equivalence in their formal relationships.

Similarly, the ultimate referents in distinguishing social generations, and in classifying individuals as members of such generations terminologically and in terms of reciprocal roles, appear to be the actual formal roles fulfilled by the members of the subclan in personal interaction with Ego and his contemporaries in the subclan in respect of their relative status relations as defined by their marriages, or more specifically the affinal contracts establishing their marriages. Ego's contemporaries in this sense

are those members of his or her subclan who were members of the playgroups of their villages of orientation at approximately the same time as Ego was a member of the playgroup of the village in which he was brought up. Thus as we saw in Chapter II there is a tendency for an older uterine sibling who brings up a younger sibling as a dependant member of his or her household to be regarded by the younger sibling as a member of the first ascending rather than of his or her own generation. In other words generations as social phenomena have significance in so far as they are relevant in terms of formal marriage and the fulfilling of the associated socially distinguished roles associated or expressed in membership of and interaction in elementary family relationships. It is from their relevance in these respects that, as we say in the last Section, biological sex characteristics acquire their social meaning for the society and its members as explained by the analogy between the statuses of the sexes and the modes of communication. Within his own generation Ego distinguishes the social significance of the sexes by using different terms towards them; he asserts his social identity as a member of the same subclan by using a selfreciprocal term towards persons of the opposite sex, but distinguishes himself from persons of the same sex by the use of reciprocal terms. Ego thus distinguishes the sexes formally in the first ascending generation also.

3. INA. V. Appendix, Diagram 4; cf. usages 2, 3, 7, Diag. 3 B (6).

In the personal sense this term refers to the female head of Ego's family of orientation, who is not necessarily Ego's biological mother; an

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(6) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Index s.v. Mother; esp. pp. 434-437.

adopted child may use this term of more than one woman in the personal sense.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of Ego and ina is analogous to that between the latent and the transmissive modes of a single unit of communication.

In the formal sense the term is used within the subclan by all members of Ego's generation to and of all women of the first ascending generation. In most cases these women will be in age and genealogically of the generation preceding that of Ego, but individuals may be classed as members of this formal generation even where genealogically and biologically they belong to Ego's own or another generation. The reciprocal of ina is latu.

4. LATU. Appendix, Diagram 4 (7).

This term refers in the personal sense to the children whom Ego female brings up in her family of procreation, who are not necessarily her biological offspring.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of Ego female and her latu is analogous to that between the transmissive and the latent modes of the same unit of communication.

In its formal sense the term is used by all members of Ego female's sex and generation within the subclan of all members of the proximal descending generation, irrespective of sex. As in the case of the other terms, the term latu may be used of individuals who are genealogically or by age of a generation other than the first descending.

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(7) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Index s.v. Children, esp. pp. 434 ff. Latu is also used by Ego male of his wife's children, but as they count formally as his affines this use of the term is discussed in the next Section, pp. 259 ff.

5. KADA. Appendix, Diagram 4 (8)

In its personal sense this term is used by Ego of either sex of the males of personal ina's generation who garden for her and her husband, especially to the man who is the formal representative of their subclan in the marriage contract which establishes and maintains Ego's family of orientation. The term is used selfreciprocally, and thus also means in the personal sense the children of both sexes of the "sister" (luta) for whom Ego male gardens as the representative of her subclan; but the term is not of course used by Ego female of members of the descending generation of her subclan, who are her latu.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of kada is analogous to that between the latent and the originative modes of the same unit of communication. In the relation with the male kada in the first ascending generation the status of Ego of either sex is the analogue of the latent and that of the kada of the originative mode; in the relation with the descending generation the status of Ego male is the analogue of the originative and that of kada of either sex of the latent mode of the same unit of communication.

In the formal sense the term denotes all males of the first ascending generation of the subclan irrespective of Ego's sex; and, where Ego is male, all members of the first descending generation of the subclan ("sisters' children") irrespective of their sex.

The terminological merging of the sexes in the first descending and their differentiation in the first ascending generation of the subclan was

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(8) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Index s.v. Uncle, Maternal, esp. pp. 434, 435, 439.

discussed in general terms in the last Section (pp. 224-225, and elsewhere as usages 3, 4 and 5 of Diagram 3 B). There the usages were explained as expressive of the differentiated meanings of the sexes as analogues of the originative and transmissive modes of the unit of communication in the first ascending generation, and of their undifferentiated meaning as together the analogue of the latent mode of the unit of communication in the first descending generation. The meaning of the sexes in the formal relationship between proximal generations is crystallised, as it were, in the initial situation of formal subclan kinship - by their respective roles in the "filiational group" within the subclan, in relation to the marriage contracts of the ascending generation, and in the families of procreation of its female members. The effective social roles of the members of the generations necessarily change as they mature and age, until in the old age of members of the ascending generation their roles in the formal relations of the subclan may be said to become analogous to the quiescent mode of the unit of communication, while at the same time those of the descending generation have become analogous to the active, originative or transmissive, modes, thus changing the effective social roles of the generations as they were in the initial situation. But such changes in people's effective social roles do not affect the formal status relations between the relevant kinship categories as established in the initial situation of subclan kinship (cf. p. 169).

Formal Significance of Elementary Family Membership.

Ego of either sex uses a reciprocal term towards females (ina) and a selfreciprocal term toward males (kada) of the first ascending generation of

the subclan. We have seen that within the same generation likeness of sex may be taken as expressive of social equivalence, so that the terms used selfreciprocally express the element of social opposition in the relation of the kinship categories, and vice versa. In the usages between proximal generations we may see a similar significance in elementary family membership. The statuses of ina, latu and kada may be said to be structurally equivalent as analogues of modes of the same unit of communication. The element of social equivalence in the relation of ina and latu may be said to be apparent in the fact that the terms refer to categories within the subclan whose members belong to the elementary families of procreation of the women of the first ascending generation, so that the reciprocal use of the terms asserts the element of social opposition in their formal relationship with members of the proximal descending generation. The kada usage on the other hand refers to categories of members of the subclan who are not normally members of one anothers' elementary families; the element of social opposition in the formal relation between "sisters' children" and their "mothers' brothers" may be said to be apparent in this, and the selfreciprocal use of the term accordingly asserts the element of social equivalence in their relationship. Thus we may say that elementary family membership, as well as sex and generation membership as discussed above, pp. 234 ff., may be held to express social equivalence or opposition in the status relations of members of the subclan.

Formal Significance of the Filiational Group.

As we saw in Chapter II, especially Section 4, the kada or mother's brother exercises little personal responsibility for his kada or sister's

children so long as they are domiciled in their mother's family of procreation. At this stage it is part of the formal role of the husband to exercise personal authority and responsibility over the children on behalf of his wife's brother. But the child is incorporated at birth into the corporate group of its mother's subclan, and some of the rituals of pregnancy, and especially the procedure at its birth (9), may be interpreted as expressive of this incorporation. Before her child is born, the mother leaves her husband's house for that of her personal mother or mother's brother. As Malinowski said, "This removal to the father's or mother's brother's household is a rule observed in every childbirth, the woman leaving her husband's house in about the seventh month of her pregnancy" (10). It is more accurately stated that if the mother goes to the household of her father it is because it is also that of her mother, rather than her father's as such; if her parents are divorced, the woman will go to her mother's rather than her father's new household. The rule is thus that a child should be born in the household of either its mother's mother or of its mother's mother's brother, who as it were witness as representatives of the corporate group of its mother's subclan her child's incorporation into their subclan by its birth. Malinowski's account of the magical and personal significances of the practice is not of course contradicted or invalidated by this explanation which rather supplement's Malinowski's analysis.

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(9) V. Malinowski, 1929, Cap. VIII, Sec. 3.

(10) Ibid., p. 193.

Incorporation and Integration (cf. pp. 112-114, 167).

A child is incorporated into a subclan by being born to a woman of that subclan, not in the household in which the mother's rights derive from her affinal relation with her husband, but in one in which she has right of entry through subclan kinship with one or other of its heads. Thus in terms of location as well as that of the group of kin involved the "initial situation" of a child's incorporation into society is not that of its elementary family of orientation, but that of the filiational group, represented by its mother and mother's mother or mother's mother's brother. It enters the formal kinship system in this situation, but is born at the same time a member of an elementary family, and its personal integration into the human group begins as a member of this elementary family. The "group of incorporation" is to be regarded as determined by the specific characteristics of the Trobriand kinship and social systems, which also give their formal significances to the personal relationships of members of the elementary family. In the process of integration however the grouping of father, mother and child follows the universal pattern of biological reproduction, and the process takes place initially in terms of the biologically determined elements in the interaction of the individuals concerned, conditioned by the physiological roles of the adults and the relatively long period of maturation of the child during which it is gradually freed from its initial personal dependence upon its father and mother and, to some extent, elder siblings.

Thus whatever the formal status relations involved in membership of the elementary family as a unit of social organisation, the interaction of

its members as individual personalities produces a sense of unity deriving from personal interdependence and of solidarity as members of a biological or quasi-biological unit. In as much as the kinship terminology refers to characteristic formal status relations inherent in the Trobriand kinship system, it is elements in the relationships conditioned by this that are expressed as necessary in the usages. Thus the social unity and equivalence of members of elementary families may be held to be expressed in their being of the same family, so that the element of social opposition in their relationships is expressed in the reciprocal use of the terms ina and latu, and tama and latu between "fathers" and "children", as we shall see in the next Section.

In the relation between kada, however, although mother's brother and sister's children belong from birth to the same corporate subclan, there is not the personal solidarity resulting from membership of the same elementary family. The unity of the subclan is a characteristic of the Trobriand kinship system in which the elementary family is not a unit of the same order as the subclan. Whereas the Trobriander is integrated into the elementary family and gains a sense of unity with its other members in the process as a child, he does not begin to acquire a sense of personal unity and solidarity with the members of his subclan until as an adolescent he begins to associate with them in formal and informal activities. Thus in sofar as they are members of different elementary families the element of opposition in the formal relation between kada may be taken to be expressed in this fact. The selfreciprocal use of the term then appears as an assertion of the structural equivalence of their statuses and the social equivalence of the categories

to which they belong, which may facilitate the development of the sense of unity and solidarity between adult and adolescent kada by emphasising the unity of their formal relations as members of the same kinship unit. As used between adult males, the term may be said to express and reinforce the developed solidarity of at least a large nucleus of members of the subclan, the existence of such a nucleus being fundamental to the effectiveness of the subclan as a unit of social organisation.

The Luta Relationship in the Ina, Latu and Kada Usages.

As used by girls of "mothers' brothers" however the term denotes and reinforces a formal relationship in which, owing to the differential pattern of residence for men and women, there is generally little likelihood of the development of a sense of personal solidarity. To this extent the sister's daughter may be said to be socially identified with her brother in this usage, in virtue of the complementary nature of the socially opposed statuses of brothers and sisters as structurally explained, and the use of the term latu by the mother also identifies her children of either sex socially. In these usages the statuses of brother and sister may be said to be terminologically treated as though they were counterparts, the brother's status being the male counterpart of the sister's and the sister's the female counterpart of the brother's; the selfreciprocal use of the term luta between brothers and sisters as discussed above may be said to have a similar connotation (pp. 234-235).

But the use of the terms ina and kada towards the women and men respectively of the first ascending generation of the subclan terminologically distinguishes them from one another in relation to Ego. These usages thus emphasise the element of social opposition in the status relation of luta

(brother and sister as Ego's Ina and kada) rather than its complementary aspect. This was discussed in the last Section, the argument of which may be summed up as being that in the relation between proximal generations of the subclan the difference in the formal roles of adult men and women of the ascending generation is the more important aspect of their status relations with the descending generation, as these are crystallised in the "initial situation" of formal subclan kinship. In other words in the internal status relations of the subclan the terminology used of the proximal ascending generation expresses the social opposition of the statuses of brothers and sisters. Nevertheless the element of equivalence, deriving from the complementary nature of their opposed formal roles in the formal relations of the subclan, is expressed in other intra-subclan usages, including that of the terms latu and kada as used of the descending generation; and it may be seen also in certain affinal usages.

Thus the mother's brother may be regarded as a "male mother", and the father's sister as a "female father", even though no term exists in Kiriwinan which could be thus rendered into English. That is to say that so far as the formal relationships of a woman's children are concerned, the status of her brother is the male counterpart of her own; it is not to imply that affective attitudes or other forms of behaviour appropriate to the relation with the mother are also regarded as appropriate to that with the mother's brother, who should, in view of his formal (not personal) authority over his sisters' children, be regarded as a sort of male matriarch, rather than as a sort of matrilineal father as Malinowski's accounts, especially in Sex and Repression, portray him. Similarly, to say that the father's sister

may be regarded for analytical purposes as a female father is intended to imply of itself no more than that her formal status in relation to her brother's children is the female counterpart of his. It may be noted also that a selfreciprocal term is used between Ego and father's sister; this term is tabu, and as used within the subclan it is the next to be analysed.

6. TABU. Appendix, Diagram 4, (11).

In the personal sense this term may be said to refer to Ego's own mother's personal mother and mother's brother, and, if Ego is female, to the children of her own children, if male, to the own children of his personal sister's daughters. As noted above the term is used selfreciprocally.

Structurally the term refers to statuses the relations between which are analogous to that between the passive modes of a single unit of communication. The relation between Ego's status and that of tabu in the alternate ascending generation is analogous to that between the latent and the quiescent modes, and that between Ego's and the status of the alternate descending generation to that between the quiescent and the latent modes.

In the formal sense the term includes in a single category all members of both alternate generations and of all preceding and succeeding generations of the subclan. In the selfreciprocal use of the term the status of Ego's generation may be said to be socially identified with that of the alternate.

Unless an aged member of the category joins Ego's family of orientation as a dependant, the personal senses of this usage are less specific than those of other terms used within the subclan. Because of the pattern of residence children are less likely to develop a personal relationship of much

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(11) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 434, 435, 441-442.

intensity with individual members of the tabu category than with members of other categories; they are in fact likely to interact with much the same intensity with any members of the alternate generations of their subclan who live in the same village cluster. Within this group of tabu none are distinguished by having special relationships with Ego's family of orientation as has the kada who gardens for Ego's own (personal) mother, and is thereby distinguished from the other members of the kada category. Though a tabu may in individual cases perform this role, he does so as a substitute, rather than in virtue of his tabu status as such, which carries no specific roles in the elementary family relationships of members of alternate generations. All the other relationships so far discussed however imply specific reciprocal roles between any given Ego and members of each of the formal categories denoted by the kinship terms, so that Ego and they may be said to represent the corporate subclan towards one another in these individual relationships, each Ego having a special personal relationship with at least one member of each category of proximal generation kin as well as of his own. A child is however hardly more likely to develop a particularly intensive relationship with its mother's personal mother's brother or mother than with any other of its subclan tabu. Indeed if as is often the case the mother's personal kin live in other villages than the child's village of residence, it is more likely to develop a close personal relation with any subclan tabu who happen to live in its own village of residence than with them. If on the other hand a child is adopted by its own mother's personal mother or mother's brother, as is often the case, it is likely to develop a personal relationship with the individual who adopts it which approximates to that with the own

mother or father, as we saw in Chapter II, provided the adoption takes place early in the child's development. Otherwise however unlike the other terms so far discussed the term has relatively little specific personal meaning.

Similarly in its formal sense the term refers to relationships which are not specific, in the sense that while the other terms designate categories which have definite roles in each others' affinal relationships and elementary families, taby merges in a single category all the sexes and generations which have no such specific roles in each others' marriages. From this point of view the relation between the alternate generations and the sexes within them is explained by the analogy with the passive modes of communication in the unit of structure. The important point for purposes of formal social organisation is that these generations are distinguished from the proximal ones in relation to Ego's own by the characteristic of having no formal roles in the affinal relationships in which his own generation are directly involved; and that further, in the absence of such formal roles the alternate generations themselves and the sexes within them cannot be terminologically distinguished, since there is no difference between them in terms of the formal system of interpretation of sex and generation. Thus the alternate generations may, like unmarried children, be said to be socially sexless in relation to each other, and to have no social significance as generations in so far as these are differentiated by their status in the affinal relations of Ego's own generation. The conceptual distinction which may be drawn between latent and quiescent passive modes of communication is unimportant in terms of the operation, as it were, of the formal kinship system, and it is the structural passivity of alternate generations that is asserted in the

formal usages.

Structurally then the statuses of alternate generations are equivalent as analogues of passive modes of communication in the same unit, while socially they are "passive" in relation to each other since formally they have no specific roles in each others' marriage relationships or elementary families of orientation or procreation as established thereby, so that neither the alternate generations nor the sexes in them are formally or terminologically distinguishable, which explains conceptually their terminological merging in the selfreciprocal use of the single term tabu. At the same time the usage can be seen as an assertion of social unity and identification between members of the subclan where none normally exists to any marked extent, except in individual cases, on the basis of cooperation in the conduct of formal affinal relationships, because of the temporal separation of alternate generations, as the result of which the ascending generation tends to have become socially "post-adult" by the time the descending is socially "adult". As in many other societies there tends to be a lack of tension in the relationships between members of alternate generations which may result from their separation in this sense, and it is notable that if a tabu takes over roles appropriate to a kada there is a tendency for a degree of constraint to enter the relationship between the members of the alternate generations that approximates to that which tends to characterise the relation between male kada and other kin, and which arises ultimately from rivalries consequent upon the process of fulfilment of formal rights and obligations. In such circumstances the tabu would probably be counted as a kada (cf. Section 5 under).

Such constraints should be conceived as arising in social organisation from interaction between individuals in terms of their status relations, rather than as being inherent in the status relations themselves. Respect relationships of varying intensity, most stringent between brother and sister and less so in other relationships, may be regarded as tending to minimise possible adverse effects on the system of relationships should such feelings of constraint get out of hand, as it were; respect relationships achieve this partly by controlling the personal relationship between individuals, but partly also by controlling to some extent the individual's own dispositions and desires where these may conflict with the requirements of his or her formal roles and relationships. This will be considered again in the next Chapter in discussing Kinship and Social Organisation; here we are concerned with the structural explanation of the formal kinship system rather than with its effects upon and in social organisation.

Summary - Terminological Expression of Opposition and Equivalence.

From this point of view we may restate some of the findings of this Section before proceeding in the next to the analysis of the terminology of affinal relationships. Taking the generations of the subclans as wholes, we may say that those with which Ego's generation is most likely to cooperate in the conduct of the affairs of the subclan during the adult life of the members are the two proximal generations. It has been suggested that within these three generations the selfreciprocal usages stress the structural unity and social equivalence of the sexes and generations where elements of their de facto biological relationships stress their social opposition; and, vice versa, that where these elements stress their social equivalence,

reciprocal usages tend to emphasise the element of social opposition in their formal relationships. It was further suggested that selfreciprocal usages tend to occur where a sense of solidarity deriving from personal interaction is likely to be least developed. This is the case in the relationships between mothers' brothers and sisters' children during the children's period of maturation. The majority of formal brothers and sisters are not likely to develop much sense of personal solidarity with one another partly because of their separation as adults under the pattern of residence at marriage, and of the opposition of the formal roles of the sexes; while the respect relationship between personal brothers and sisters may be assumed to weaken in some degree the ties of solidarity developed between them as members of the same elementary family of orientation, or of the same village playgroup. The selfreciprocal use of the term luta then embodies a reassertion of the solidarity of the single generation of the subclan.

Reciprocal usages on the other hand tend to occur where the sense of solidarity and unity is likely to be strongly developed, as between parents and children through membership of the same elementary family, or between members of the same sex and generation of a subclan through cooperation and shared interests as adults. Of all the generations normally represented in the living population of a subclan during the lifetime of members of a given generation, the latter are least likely to develop solidarity in personal interaction and cooperation with members of the two alternate generations. It has already been suggested that the selfreciprocal use of the term tabu between these generations involves an assertion of the structural unity of the subclan and the social equivalence of its living members where solidarity

amongst them is least likely to be developed. In its extension to include all preceding and succeeding generations of the subclan the usage may similarly be taken as an assertion of structural and social unity and equivalence where no personal sense of solidarity can exist between members of past, present and future generations of the subclan.

The distinction between structural and social equivalence and opposition was discussed briefly on pp. 200-202. It was said there that structural opposition and equivalence are conceived as attributes of modes of communication in the concept of social structure; the modes of the same unit of communication are structurally equivalent, those of different units are in structural opposition with each other. In as much as the formal statuses and categories of the kinship system are explained as analogues of the modes of communication, they also may be said to be variously structurally equivalent or opposed; the categories of members of the same subclan, as the analogue in the formal social system and in social organisation of the unit of communication, are thus structurally equivalent, while those of members of different subclans which are affinally related to Ego's subclan are structurally opposed. It was said also that structural equivalence did not necessarily imply social equivalence, or structural opposition social opposition, as between formal statuses and categories. Human beings may be said to be socially equivalent to one another when they are members of the same kinship categories in relation to members of other categories. This means that socially equivalent members of a single category will be of the same sex and generation as these socially interpreted criteria distinguish the categories, and implies that individual members of the same category may

replace one another in formal relationships with members of other categories. But of course they retain their individual personalities and cannot replace one another so far as the personal content of formal relationships is concerned.

But in analysing the formal kinship terminology we are concerned with the relationships between kinship categories rather than with those between individuals, and have consequently been using the terms social equivalence and opposition with rather different, or additional, meanings than those implicit in the notions as applied to individual personalities. In a sense the formal kinship categories to which the terms apply are at the same time socially equivalent in some respects and socially opposed in others. This was implied when it was said that reciprocal usages stressing social opposition apparently tend to occur where other distinguishing characteristics of categories sufficiently express their social equivalence, while self-reciprocal usages tend to occur where other features than the terminological usages assert the social opposition of categories. These other characteristics or features may be said to be the self-evident equivalence and opposition of the complementary biological characteristics of the sexes and generations, as their social meanings are recognised or expressed in the usages of kinship terminology. This social meaning of the sexes and generations is explained by reference to the concept of the structural system of communication; but the biological complementary opposition of the sexes and generations remains unchanged and apparent whatever significance or meaning may be attributed to them socially. The categories of members of a subclan are conceived as socially equivalent to each other from the point of view of the relationships

of the subclan as a unit of social structure and organisation with other like units, and the members of different categories may be said also to be socially equivalent from the same point of view. But from the view point of the internal system and organisation of the subclan the categories composing it are socially opposed, in as much as the distinguishing of categories implies differentiation of their social roles. As between proximal generations of a subclan, this opposition is complementary in a sense analogous to the complementary opposition of the biological sexes and generations as such; but as between alternate generations there is no such relation of complementary opposition with each other directly, since they have no differentiated reciprocal roles in each others' formal affinal relationships. From this point of view alternate generations are socially indistinguishable from each other.

We have thus a relationship of complementary opposition between the sexes and generations within the subclan, so that we may say that the concept of social equivalence relates to the complementary and the concept of social opposition to the oppositional aspect of this relationship. Moreover the relationships between affinal statuses and categories also involve such complementary opposition of social roles, even though these statuses and categories are structurally in opposition, and the members of affinally related categories are not socially equivalent in the sense that they are interchangeable members of a single formal unit of social organisation. We shall find both selfreciprocal and reciprocal usages between affines, but in a sense their interpretation as asserting social equivalence or opposition in formal relations reverses that apparent in their use within the subclan.

We found within the subclan that reciprocal terms are used between members of the same sex and generation, and a selfreciprocal term between members of the same generation of opposite sex. Between affines of the same sex and generation however we find selfreciprocal usages, between affines of opposite sex and the same generation, reciprocal usages. This can be explained on the hypothesis of reversal of the social significance of sex and generation membership as between subclan and affinal kin.

Section 3. <u>The Terminology of Affinal Kinship</u>.

Difference of sex between members of the same subclan means from the formal viewpoint a relationship which precludes marriage. Difference of sex between affines however means a formal relationship which involves or is contingent upon marriage. That is, since marriage is impossible between members of the same subclan, difference of sex between its members asserts the element of social opposition in their status relation, since their inability to marry stresses the oppositional element in the biological relation between the sexes as against the complementary. Conversely difference of sex between members of different subclans in itself asserts the complementary aspect of their status relations, since the actuality or potentiality of marriage between them stresses the complementary aspect of the biological relation between the sexes. On the basis of these hypotheses, difference of sex may be said in formal relationships within the subclan to constitute in itself an assertion of the oppositional aspect of the statuses of the sexes, while in inter subclan relationships it constitutes an assertion of the complementary nature of the formal affinal relationships.

Similarity of sex on the other hand may be said in intra-subclan formal relations to constitute an assertion of the complementary element, or social

equivalence, in the statuses of its members, while in inter-subclan relationships it constitutes an assertion of the element of opposition in the formal affinal relationships. Thus within the subclan all males and all females have essentially the same status and roles in the external affinal relationships of the total subclan, that of the males being the origination and reception of interaction with other subclans and that of the females being the provision of the means of establishing the relationship between the subclans through which such formal interaction can take place. Thus within the subclan all males both garden for and are gardened for by members of other subclans; but the males of other subclans either garden for or are gardened for by Ego. To this extent we may say that the primary characteristic of the status relationships between persons of the same sex within a subclan is their social equivalence in terms of their formal roles in the external relations of the total exogamous unit, while between persons of the same sex and generation in different subclans the essential feature of their reciprocal relationships is their social opposition. Hence in the formal relationships of subclan kin likeness of sex in itself constitutes an assertion of social equivalence, but in affinal relationships it constitutes an assertion of social opposition. This view will explain the facts that whereas subclan kin of the same sex and generation use reciprocal terms of one another, thus emphasising their social opposition, affines of the same sex and generation use selfreciprocal terms, thus asserting the complementary aspect of their reciprocal relationships; and that while subclan kin of the same generation but opposite sex use selfreciprocal terms which assert their social equivalence, affines of the same generation but opposite sex use

selfreciprocal terms which assert their social equivalence, affines of the same generation but opposite sex use reciprocal terms which assert their social opposition.

The Formal Affinal Relationship.

Selfreciprocal usages between categories of subclan kin are thus taken to be assertions of their social equivalence, this deriving from their being "on the same side", as it were, in the formal affinal relations of the total subclan notwithstanding the fact that their internal status relations involve elements of social opposition in the roles of the members of the categories in the individual marriage contracts to which Ego is a party. As between affines, however, selfreciprocal usages are taken as asserting the complementary aspect of their opposed reciprocal relationships, since affines as members of different exogamous units are not socially equivalent in the sense of being formally interchangeable members of the same exogamous subclan. These distinctions of course stem from the interpretation of the marriage contract as being primarily, from the point of view of formal kinship, a means of establishing relations between units of social organisation. From this viewpoint the parties directly concerned in each marriage contract may be said to be the husband as the male representative of his subclan, and the wife as the female representative of his subclan and the wife's brother as the male representative of the wife's. In this sense the status of each brother may be seen to be the male equivalent of the status of the sister, and vice versa; so that, as we saw earlier, from the point of view of the relation with the children of the marriage, the status of the husband's sister may conceptually be regarded as that of a "female father", and that of

the wife's brother as that of a "male mother", even though the "motherliness" of the latter must be regarded as formally authoritarian, or "matriarchal".

The key relationships in the formal significance of ~~the~~ Trobriand kinship are those of the husband, wife, wife's brother and, though her roles are ritually symbolic rather than of practical importance, husband's sister. The formal status relations with children and sister's children are regarded as incidental to these, and we may conceive the affinal relations of each total subclan as consisting in the successive contracts of marriage between its generations and their contemporaries in other subclans. Thus we start the analysis of affinal usages with the terms used within each generation of affines.

7. KWAVA. Appendix, Diagram 5 (12)

This term is used in the personal sense by Ego male of his female partner in the marriage contract.

Structurally the relation between Ego's status and that of kwava is analogous to that between the originative mode of one unit of communication and the transmissive mode of another, through which the two units are in a relation of communication.

The term does not designate a formal category, only the current marriage partner or, if Ego is a polygamist, partners. The reciprocal is -

8. MWALA. Appendix, Diagram 5 (12)

This term is used in the personal sense by Ego female of her male partner in the marriage contract.

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(12) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Cap. V.

Structurally the relation between the status of Ego and that of mwala is analogous to that between the transmissive mode of one and the originative mode of another unit of communication, through which the two units are in a relation of communication.

The term does not designate a formal category but only Ego's current husband.

These two terms are unique in two respects. The first, already noted on pp. 230-~~231~~, is that they alone of all individual terms take the least intimate form of the possessive, although they refer to the most intimate of personal relations. The second, noted above in the definitions, is that they alone of all kinship terms have no normal use in reference to formal categories of individuals in relation to Ego. In a sense of course the wives of the men of a subclan and the husbands of its women may be referred to collectively under the single term, as may kin of other kinds, when they are thought of as an aggregate of persons all with the same status relation towards Ego. But whereas all other kinship terms refer in a specific sense to categories of members of single subclans who are socially equivalent in relation to Ego, the terms mwala and kwava refer to only one member of any given subclan in an unique relationship with Ego. Through this unique relationship between individual representatives of two subclans, however, the collective affinal relation between the total subclans and that between their members as differentiated into affinal categories are established (13).

Use of the "Conditional Possessive" with these Terms.

The two forms of the possessive used with kinship terms may be

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(13) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 62, 452.

distinguished as the unconditional and the conditional possessive. The former may be defined as indicating an intimate and involuntary relation between possessor and possessed; this form of the possessive is used with words designating e.g. parts of the body. Conditional possession may be defined as involving a relationship between possessor and possessed which is contingent upon the will of the possessor, and in as much as the relation may be between human beings, upon that of the "possessed" also. In the latter case the relationship is conditional upon the will of the individuals concerned, as to both its inception and its continuance. The former, unconditional, form of the possessive is used with all terms of subclan and affinal kinship except the specific mwala and kwava, "husband" and "wife", and the collective term veivai, meaning "relatives in law" in general; and this difference in the possessive usage may be taken as reflecting the contractual, conditional, nature of the affinal relation in general, and of the voluntary marriage contract between individual husband and wife in particular, upon which the affinal relation between their total subclans depends. The use of the unconditional form of the possessive with the rest of the terms of affinal kinship, as well as with the usages of subclan kinship, may be taken as reflecting the fact that, once the affinal relation is entered into by two subclans through the contracting of a marriage between a representative of each, the formal relationships between the remainder of the members of the subclans is unalterably fixed for as long as the marriage lasts, the other members of the subclans having no choice as to whether they will count each other as affines or not once the husband and wife have married. That is, the establishing of the affinal relation between subclans

is ultimately dependent upon the decision of their representatives to enter into and to maintain the marriage contract; but once the marriage is contracted, the remaining members of the subclans have no choice as to whether they will count one another as affines or not so long as the marriage lasts.

No Formal "Husband" and "Wife" Categories.

The absence of formal categories of "husbands" and "wives" in the spouse's subclan in relation to Ego, comparable to the categories to which all other kinship terms refer, is also to be explained by the unique nature of marriage in the Trobriand kinship system as a relation contracted initially between individuals. The status relations of husband and wife are explained as analogous to the relation between modes of communication of different units of the structural concept. The status of the husband is conceived as the analogue in the formal kinship system of the originative mode of a unit of communication, and that of the wife as the analogue of the transmissive mode of another unit of communication, while the marriage contract and the affinal relationship between the total subclans established by it are conceived as analogues of the state of communication between the units established by the relation between their respective modes. The structural significance of marriage and the contract that establishes it is thus no more and no less than that it is the means both of differentiating subclans as units of the formal kinship system and the categories of members of the units, since sex, generation and elementary family membership have social meaning as referents in distinguishing kinship categories and statuses only in reference to the marriage contract; and at the same time the marriage contract is, at the level of social organisation, the means of

establishing relationships of formal interaction between the categories and units of kinship and, through them, between local groups also.

It is at the level of its efficacy as a mechanism of social organisation that we may find the explanation of the fact that the marriage relation is contractually established between individual representatives of subclans, not between a category of "husbands" in one subclan and one of "wives" in the other. For the purpose of formal interaction the affinal relation between subclans is to be considered as fully established by the marriage of one representative of each subclan. Further if marriage and affinal kinship is to operate efficiently as a mechanism of social organisation, it is necessary to use the available resources of the subclan as efficiently as possible, by ensuring that as many members of the living population of each subclan marry members of different subclans as circumstances permit, thus achieving as wide a spread of affinal relationships as possible. The Trobriand kinship system can be said to seek to achieve this by limiting the number of representatives of each subclan in any one marriage contract to one of each sex, by prohibiting sororal polygyny (and of course polyandry) and by the system of preferred marriage (v. Section 4, pp. 311 ff.), whereby further marriages that would duplicate the direction of wifegiving in existing marriages are inhibited in favour of marriages which establish new affinal relations between subclans, reverse existing marriages, or repeat pre-existing ones that have ceased to operate. The limitation of the use of the terms mwala and kwava to individuals rather than to categories in formal relation to Ego is conditioned by these considerations, which also explain the fact that the marriage contract is phrased in terms of the

relation between individuals, not subclans as wholes, although it establishes a formal relationship between total subclans.

In a way of course all this is to say no more than that the usages and formal relationships of the Trobriand kinship system are as they are because it is the Trobriand kinship system; and indeed, in the absence of historical evidence about the development of the system, this is at one level all that can be said about it. At the same time this does not invalidate the explanation as an analytical construct, the ultimate test of the validity of which is the degree in which the construct can be used to achieve a consistent logical explanation of the empirical data. In pursuance of this aim the husband - wife relation must be considered together with that between wife's brother and husband and wife and husband's sister, since all are parties to the marriage contract in different degrees.

9. LUBOU. Appendix, Diagram 5; cf. also above, pp. 140 ff. (14).

In the personal sense this term is used by Ego male of the husband (mwala) of the sister (luta)for whom Ego gardens. The term is used selfreciprocally, so that it refers also to Ego's wife's (kwava) brother (luta) who gardens for her and Ego.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of lubou is explained as analogous in the formal kinship system to that between the originative modes of two different units of communication in relation with each other through the transmissive mode of one or the other unit. The structural relation between the statuses of lubou is thus established through the intermediacy of that of the kwava or luta (wife or sister) as the analogue of the transmissive mode. It makes no difference to the structural relations

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(14) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Cap. V. Sec. 3; Cap. VI, Sec. 6.

involved which of the units of communication the transmissive mode belongs to; thus Ego's status relation with both wife's brother and sister's husband is structurally the same and the terms used are the same in either case.

Formally the term includes in a single category the husbands and all their subclan "brothers" of all women of Ego's generation of his subclan on the one hand, and all the subclan "brothers" of the wives of Ego and his own subclan "brothers" on the other. The term is in fact used in this way in some contexts but in others it may refer to one or the other type of lubou as indicated by the formal relationships involved in a particular situation. It is also used loosely to refer to all male affines of Ego's subclan irrespective of generation or subclan membership, as against female affines.

10. IVATA. Appendix, Diagram 5 (15).

The use of this term corresponds in the affinal relations of women to that of lubou in those of men. Thus -

In the personal sense it is used by Ego female of the wife (kwava) of the brother (luta) who gardens for Ego and her husband. It is also used selfreciprocally of Ego's husband's (mwala) sister (luta) for whom he gardens.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of ivata is explained as the analogue in the formal kinship system of that between the transmissive modes of different units of communication as related with each other by the relation between the originative modes of the two units through one or the other transmissive mode. The structural relation between the statuses of

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(15) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 434-435. If Ego is understood to be female the definition of the term on p. 434 is correct, as is Diagram 1, p. 435, but Diagram 2 on that page is incorrect.

ivata is thus a consequence of the structural relation between those of lubou through the status of one or the other of the ivata, as the wife of one lubou and sister of the other.

Formally the term includes in a single category the wives and all their subclan "sisters" of all Ego female's subclan "brothers" on the one hand, and all the subclan "sisters" of the husbands of Ego and her subclan "sisters" on the other. In most formal contexts however Ego's status is in practice that of one or the other type of ivata; e.g. in a mortuary rite she normally has the status either of a husband's sister or of a brother's wife in relation to other participants in the ritual whom she terms ivata, who similarly stand to her in the relation of either a brother's wife or a husband's sister. On the other hand Ego female may also use the term loosely to refer to all her female as against her male affines. In all these respects the usage parallels that of lubou among males, and may be regarded as patterned on this relationship.

Marriage as a structural element or mechanism in social organisation has been explained as the analogue of the state of communication between units of structure, in which the originative mode of one unit is in a relation of communication with that of another through the transmissive mode of one or the other unit. There is however no parallel relation of communication between the transmissive modes concerned, their conceptual relation being indirect, since by definition their part in communication is to transmit, of to provide the channel of transmission of, communication between the originative modes of the units concerned. This distinction is formulated in order to explain the social meaning of the sexes in Trobriand kinship, and

is valid in so far as it may succeed in this aim. As an element of social organisation, however, marriage involves interaction between human representatives of two subclans; thus while the status relations of lubou may be said to be structurally indirect, in as much as they are conditional upon the marriage of one with the luta (sister) of the other, its significance in formal kinship, for purposes of social organisation, is that it establishes the basis of direct reciprocal interaction between the two men as representatives of their subclans. But the interaction of the subclans is not of course limited to that of the two "official representatives"; from another point of view it may be said that the function of the marriage contract is to provide the formal basis of interaction between all members of the subclans of the spouses. Interaction is thus not limited to husbands and wives and husbands and wives' brothers, but also wives and their husbands' sisters may be said to interact as representatives of their subclans. Their interaction is however to be regarded rather as a necessary concomitant than a basic element of the structural relation between their subclans.

Male and Female Roles in Formal Affinal Relationships.

Women are socially regarded as formally incapable of originating and receiving interaction as representatives of their subclans; this is structurally explained on the hypothesis that the social meaning of their sex is that it is the analogue of the transmissive, not the originative, mode of communication. As Malinowski has shown (19), although women have as individuals the same personal status as members of their subclans as do men, including the personal attribute of rank, their formal role in subclan

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(16) 1929, pp. 24 ff., esp. p. 25. But cf. Austen 1940.

kinship is the transmission, not the exercise, of such status on behalf of their subclans. Similarly the role of the female members of a subclan in its external relations with other subclans may be regarded as the provision, through their marriages, of the formal affinal relations in terms of which the interaction between the subclans is carried on by their male representatives. The formal inability of women to originate and receive such interaction in the same way is most apparent in the fact that they cannot exercise the rank privilege of polygamy. This as Malinowski showed precludes their becoming foci of political organisation as may men who have the attribute of rank, although their sex does not prevent women from enjoying the personal privileges of rank in other respects (17).

Thus the ivata relationship does not involve women in the conduct of the affairs of their subclans as does the lubou relationship, which essentially is the reciprocal relation between men as representatives of the interests of their total subclans in the marriage contract concerned. Nevertheless the sisters of such men do necessarily meet and interact, and their statuses in such interaction are the female counterparts of those of their brothers. In practice, women can and do exercise considerable influence "behind the scenes" upon the actual conduct of the political and economic relations between their subclans, in spite of the fact that they cannot formally represent the subclans in such interaction. Thus, at the level of the negotiation of marriages, it is not unknown for girls who happen to be particularly friendly with one another to bring about the marriage of one

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(17) Ibid., p. 29.

of them to the "brother" of the other, by influencing their father's attitudes to other possible marriages, in order that their friendship should be formally recognised, as it were in their becoming ivata to one another. Similarly women of strong character no doubt exert considerable political influence upon and through their brothers or husbands as Chiefs. On the whole however the Trobriand women take relatively little overt interest in political relationships; and the conduct of the affairs of the subclans, except where these impinge directly upon the personal interests of the women themselves, are still regarded as "men's business", the interests of the women being different, though of course no less absorbing or important in their way than those of the men.

The only formally important roles of women in subclan relations are ritual and ceremonial, connected with the life-crises of birth, marriage and especially death. On these occasions the women of the subclans concerned play a part which is complementary to that of the men as representatives of the subclans. Pregnancy and birth are regarded primarily as women's concern, in which the formal representation of the subclan occurs at the time of birth when, the mother moves into the household of a mother or mother's brother (pp. 241-242). Both men and women play their parts in marriage ceremonials; but it is only men who maintain the relation between the parties in the annual harvest gifts, while women have no such continuing reciprocal relationship as ivata. At mortuary rites women's mortuary distributions parallel those of men; but it is significant that at the end of the main rite the men hold a special distribution of food for the women of their subclan, to reward them, as my informants put it, for "helping" their

"brothers" (18 - v. also Chapter V). It is to be noted also that whereas women are debarred from the active representation of the subclan in economic, jural and political relationships, men are not similarly debarred from representing the subclan in ritual situations; indeed in mortuary rites, which afford perhaps the clearest ritual representation of the formal relationships between subclans and within them, the women's part is as has been indicated regarded as subordinate to that of the men.

Thus we may say in general that while the active conduct of the affinal relationships between total subclans is the province of men, theirs also is the main part in ritual and ceremonial which symbolises and reinforces the formal relationship, as in presentations of harvest gifts and in mortuary rites. From this point of view the part of women in ceremonial and ritual is to be considered as a reflection of the social roles of men, necessary, as it were, because women also interact with one another and must be socially identified, if not personally integrated, with the other members of their subclans; and because some degree of formal interaction between the women of affinally related subclans symbolises their status relations as members of different units. But their part in formal interaction, ritually and practically important thought it may be in matters connected with their transmissive role as symbolised and apparent in the process of reproduction, is incidental to the formal relationship between the total subclans; it is as it were a consequence of the expression of formal relationships and roles in the cultural idiom of kinship, and is thus of the same order as the formal

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(18) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Caps. VI and VII.

relations of parent and child. Ivata are generally expected to be friendly to one another, to be ready to help one another in personal undertakings, especially in connection with life crises, of birth and so on; but they have no reciprocal obligations comparable to those of the harvest gift, or to the role of the husband as representative of his wife's brother towards her children, and their roles as formal representatives of their subclans are restricted to ceremonial exchanges at marriage and at mortuary rites. But the essential relationship in the formal affinal interaction between the subclans is that between lubou, the formal relation between individuals husbands and wives having from the same viewpoint the significance of providing the basis of the marriage contract which establishes the lubou relation, while that between ivata is the incidental female counterpart to the male lubou relation.

The formal significance of the marriage contract is from the point of view of social organisation that it establishes a formal reciprocal relationship between total subclans and their representatives, which provides the regulative basis of interaction between them in general. In the status relations of husband and wife and their "siblings" of opposite sex, the reciprocal use of the terms kwava and mwala between husband and wife may be said to assert terminologically the structural and social opposition of their statuses, the complementary aspect being apparent in the individual marriage relation and in their membership and roles in the same elementary family. The selfreciprocal use of the terms lubou by men and ivata by women may similarly be taken as asserting the element of complementary reciprocity in the status relations between husbands and wives' brothers on the one hand

and between wives and husbands' sisters on the other, the structural and social opposition of their statuses being apparent in the terms of the marriage contract, by which they cannot be members of the same elementary family, as well as in their membership of different subclans. The social opposition or equivalence of their statuses relates to their differentiated roles in formal interaction as established by the marriage contract.

The Marriage Contract as the Basis of Formal Relationships of Interaction.

Formal interaction is conceived as the analogue in the kinship system of structural communication in the concept of the system of communication. On p. 190 it was said that the term system of interaction would be used to distinguish the reciprocal formal relationships of subclans and their members from the conceptual system of communication between units of structure. The formal affinal relation between subclans and their members includes of course both communication, of goods in reciprocal exchanges as well as verbal, and interaction in the form of combined activities, economic and political etc., on the part of the members of the subclans as well as the reciprocal performance of services of one kind or another - e.g. the reciprocal services of husband and wife's brother, the former caring for his wife and her children personally and the latter in turn gardening for the former; or the observance of mourning by the members of a widow's or widower's subclan and the mortuary distributions held for them by the subclan kin of the dead spouse. But the formal relation of interaction between the subclans and their representative members is not conceived as consisting in these reciprocal relationships as such; rather they are to be regarded as different ways of expressing and reinforcing the formal relation, as is marriage itself as a

relation between individuals (19).

The formal affinal relation itself, established by and expressed in the marriage contract and the prescribed reciprocal relations of affinal kin, is conceived as a state of voluntary attachment between subclans as total units of social interaction and between their individual representatives. The structural significance of such a state of attachment is that it places the parties in a formal relationship of general significance for purposes of social organisation, so that the marriage contract becomes also a political, economic, jural and a ritual contract, and may be entered into by individuals for reasons of all these kinds or for one or the other of them; or for personal reasons only, as we shall see in the next Chapter. But whatever the motives for the contracting of a particular marriage, once contracted it involves the parties in reciprocal relations at all these levels of social interaction, and establishes a relation between their subclans which formally permits of their interaction in general. Indeed in a sense subclans of different clans only "exist" formally for each other in so far as they are affinally related; otherwise continuing formal relationships between their members are possible only in so far as they may reckon one another as "affines" by clan kinship, so that from this point of view the subclan may be regarded as the operational subunit of the clan in the total social interaction of the Trobriand population.

The marriage contract is established by the attachment of a male and a female representative of two subclans in a relation which also involves all

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(19) Cf. Leach, 1951, p. 52.

other members of their respective subclans in a reciprocal affinal relationship. Women are not to be thought of as being themselves communicated or transferred in person to their husbands' subclans, except of course in the literal sense that marriage normally involves a transference of residence on the part of the wife. But she does not become in any sense a member of her husband's subclan at the expense of membership of her own, and her children of course are fully members of their mother's, not their father's, subclan. In other kinship systems, especially patrilineal, women may be transferred or communicated personally between kingroups; in such cases the affinal relation between kingroups, in so far as they may be structural units of the same order as the Trobriand subclans, would consist in the transference of women, and the structural unit might be found to consist in analogous modes of communication but grouped around the "state of communication", as it were, instead of as in the Trobriand system being marked off from each other by the relation of communication. In such systems the structural unit analogous to the Trobriand subclan would consist in a group of men, their parents, their wives and their adult male children and their wives, together with their unmarried children of both sexes. The relation of formal interaction between such units would be established by the transference of women from one to the other, and there would be corresponding changes in other aspects of the formal relationships; e.g. the "initial situation" of formal kinship would involve the same personnel as that of personal kinship, etc.

But in the Trobriand matrilineal system the formal affinal relation is established and symbolised by the attachment, not the transference, of a female representative of one unit to a male representative of another by a

contract of marriage which involves not only the husband and wife, but also a sister of the former and a brother of the latter, in reciprocal roles as representatives of their respective subclans. The relation between the two women (ivata) is of ritual and symbolic rather than practical, economic, political or jural, significance, since the formal role of women in marriage as a relation between subclans is to attach the subclans, as it were, rather than to exercise their rights in the relationship established by the attachment. This is the role of the men (lubou), as symbolised in the annual harvest gift and in other observances; but the essence of the relation from the point of view of the total kinship system may be seen in the general pattern it establishes for the interaction of the members of the subclans. The pattern of interaction is potentially effective in any situation or type of relationship in which formal relations are desirable or useful, since it is not bound up with or limited to any one aspect of social relations.

The Structural and Social Significances of the Direction of Wife-Giving.

The status of every adult male combines two discernible roles as lubou; that of "sister's husband" on the one hand and that of "wife's brother" on the other. Although exercised by Ego towards different individuals in most (but not all) cases, these roles are not terminologically distinguished, nor were they conceptually distinguished as such in the discussion of the structural concept of the system of communication. Both these points may be explained on the assumption that the formal and structural significance of the lubou relationship is the same whether Ego is the husband or the wife's brother in a particular affinal relationship. What may be said to vary is the manner of expressing the same structural mechanism in the formal

reciprocal relations of the total subclans and their representatives; from this point of view the roles of husband and wife's brother are alternative and complementary ways of expressing the same formal, lubou, relationship, as are those of wife and husband's sister, of the ivata relationship, provided always that the subclans concerned are of equivalent rank. If they are not, the direction of wife and harvest gift "giving" acquires specific structural significances and the lubou relationships acquire differential economic and political significances (cf. Sec. 4).

There is of course nevertheless considerable difference between the roles of husband and wife's brother and in their respective positions in terms of the marriage contract. This may be seen symbolised in the fact that it is the brother who gives the harvest presentation to the husband. The husband's formal relationship with his wife is contractual and conditional; the brother's relation with his sister is not, but is inherent in their subclan kinship. Similarly the relation of lubou is contractual, established by the relation between the husband and wife. As a unit of social organisation the subclan consists in a population, the men of which are dependent upon their "sisters" for their successors, and for the continuity of the kingroup. But in the interests of exogamy, which in a sense is what makes the subclan effective as a structural unit of social organisation the respect relation prevents the men from taking any active or overt interest in their sisters' sexual capacities, or in their children so long as they remain in their mothers' families of procreation (20). Hence the men of

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(20) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 72-73, 171, Cap. VII, Sec. 6.

a subclan are under the necessity of securing husbands for their sisters in their own interest, to act as the formal representatives of the brothers in matters connected with the reproductive activities of the women. The marriage contract may be said to involve a delegation of the brothers' roles as guardians of their sisters to the husbands, but not an outright relinquishing of their rights over their sisters' reproductive capacities, since the role of the husband is to exercise them on behalf of the brother. The granting to the husband of exclusive rights of sexual access over the wife, as against rights over her reproductive powers, may be seen as a return for his services as her brother's formal representative.

Physiological Paternity Structurally and Socially Irrelevant.

It is to be noted in this connection that, whatever the natives' indigenous clinical knowledge of the facts of reproduction, the formal dogma of kinship denies the father any status as genitor. Malinowski's account in Sexual Life, Cap. VII, esp. Sec. 6, makes this clear, and for our present purpose the controversy raised by the attribution of actual ignorance to the Kiriwinans is irrelevant. I was in fact given an account of the reproductive process which is in accordance with beliefs held in many parts of the world, and at the same time diverges sufficiently from the "scientifically accurate" accounts propagated by mission and other teachers to be possibly indigenous. According to this the semen acts as a coagulant of the menstrual blood, producing a "clot" which a spirit child (baloma) enters by way of the head or otherwise, and which proceeds to grow after its "quickening" by the entry of the baloma. My suggestions that this account either contradicted that of Malinowski or else was garbled "mission talk", were stremuously denied by my informants, who maintained that both accounts were "true", but that they were

"different". Malinowski's, they said, was "men's talk", valid in formal situations, e.g. in matters of land ownership and the like; the account given to me was "women's and children's talk", that is it was what fathers or their sisters told children as they became old enough to take more than a childish sexual interest in the opposite sex.

It is possible that both are coexistent indigenous beliefs which though by European standards mutually contradictory, as are the clan and subclan myths of origin, are not so in terms of Kiriwinan logic, since they relate to what Malinowski might have termed different contexts of situation - to what might be termed otherwise the personal and the formal levels of kinship relations. Malinowski however, in the Special Foreword to the third edition of "Sexual Life of Savages", pp. xxi - xxii, expressly stated that previous publications notwithstanding he had not intended to commit himself one way or the other in the matter of Kiriwinan clinical knowledge; following his precedent, nor do I. What matters is that so far as the formal kinship system is concerned physical paternity, whether in fact known or not, is irrelevant; it "does not exist" at least in the same sense that sexes and generations may be said to be nonexistent in certain relationships, e.g. that between alternate generations of the subclan. This being so, as Malinowski emphasised, there can be no question of formal rights as genitor, so that the harvest gift cannot be interpreted formally as compensation to the social father for the relinquishing of such non-existent rights (21). Nor on the other hand can it be interpreted in any real sense as material compensation

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(21) Cf. 1929, Cap. I, Sec. 1.

for the services rendered by the husband to the wife's brother, for in the case of lubou of equivalent rank the amount of garden produce received is no more, and may be less, than that given by the husband in turn to his own sister's husband. The average household head is thus materially no better off for the receipt of a harvest gift than he would be were he to retain the produce of his own gardens, especially as a proportion of the harvest gift he receives must be contributed towards ceremonial or other collective enterprises of the subclan or village, e.g. mortuary distributions or to help feed working parties etc. Moreover however many yams he receives they cannot normally be stored longer than six months or so, and thereafter the household is dependent for its needs on its own productive efforts (22). Thus despite its cumulative importance in the economic life of total local groups, the annual harvest gift confers little economic advantage upon the average householder; nor for that matter upon the Chief, since he cannot materially enhance his own standard of living by the possession of wealth, which he controls on behalf of the community.

Motives for Marriage.

The "real" value of the harvest gift to the Kiriwinan is rather bound up with its symbolic than its economic significance. The Kiriwinan does not marry in order to improve his material or economic standing; nor can he or she be said to do so in order to obtain legitimate access to a sexual partner, since marriage means not a beginning but a restriction of legitimate sexual activities, although Malinowski's accounts show that the restrictions on a

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(22) Cf. Malinowski, esp. 1935, I, p. 193, "Secondary crops" of main garden; Austen, 1945, (ix).

husband's extramarital activities are not always strictly enforced, provided he limits his partners to unmarried girls. In practice a wife also may have some latitude, provided she does not behave in such a way as to enrage a jealous husband, or to shame him publicly (23). Thus the individual may lose as much as he or she gains sexually or economically by marriage. The basic social sanction in favour of marriage may be seen in the fact that it is only married persons who count formally as full adults, a status established by the possession by a man of a wife and lubou, by a woman of husband and ivata, and symbolised for both by their joint receipt of the annual harvest gift.

Malinowski's statement that "... the Trobriander has no full status in adult life until he marries" (24) holds for women as well as men, but the restricted part played by women in public life may make the attainment of formal adult status less significant for them than for men. As strong a social motive in their case may be the need of a social father (not a genitor) for the children they will have, and this also may influence brothers to bring pressure to bear for their own sakes upon sisters who delay marriage too long (25). There is also a social, as against a psychological, need by both sexes for personal or own children, in order to establish individual claims upon them for care in the old age of the parents in return for the care bestowed upon the children in their parents' families of procreation, and of course the possession of personal, as against formal, children is in itself

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(23) 1929, p. 97ff.

(24) Ibid, Cap. IV. Sec. 1, esp. p. 68; 1935, I, pp. 201-202.

(25) Cf. Malinowski, 1929. p. 170 ff., 1935, I, pp. 202-203.

an index of adult status in as much as it is associated with marriage. These motives for marriage may be considered to some extent characteristic of the formal Trobriand kinship system, and do not exclude the operation of other motives found in all relationships between individuals as husband and wife however the marriage relation is socially structured or interpreted. Thus in the Trobriands as elsewhere, romantic attachments, the desire for a settled domestic existence, personality factors and specific political or other motives affect individual choices of marriage partners, and indeed may affect individuals' attitudes toward marriage as an institution; but the ultimate sanction in favour of the married state for individuals is to be seen in its significance as the means of attaining full adult status, and this is bound up with its significance in the total kinship and social system. From this point of view, in as much as marriage and affinal kinship serve the purposes of organising formal interaction between individuals and groups, the individual who is not married cannot participate fully in social activities; but on the other hand his other capacity to do so as a married man stems from having a wife or husband and lubou or ivata in virtue of his status in a particular marriage contract, and in the case of men at least their status as fathers appears from this point of view to be incidental to their status as husbands.

From this point of view also Ego's relations with the spouse's "siblings" of the same sex is incidental to and differs from that with the spouse in formal significance. Ego uses towards them the same terms that are used by the spouse, i.e. tuwa and bwada. This may be called the affinal use of these terms, as against their use within the subclan; whereas within the subclan the terms are used reciprocally between members of the same generation and

sex, among affines they are used reciprocally between members of the same generation but of opposite sex.

11. Affinal Tuwa and Bwada. Appendix, Diagram 5 (26).

In the personal sense the terms are used reciprocally between Ego and Ego's spouse's personal "siblings of same sex" (luta) on the one hand, and between Ego and the spouses of Ego's personal "siblings of same sex" (luta) on the other.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of affinal tuwa and bwada is the same as that between the statuses of husband and wife (mwala and kwava, usages 7 and 8, pp. 259 ff), in virtue of the structural and social equivalence of the status of subclan kin of the same sex and generation.

In the formal sense, Ego uses these terms in the same way and to the same individuals as does Ego's spouse or the spouse of Ego's subclan "sibling of same sex"; on the one hand Ego terms both his or her own and his or her subclan tuwa and bwada's spouses "siblings of same sex" by the same terms as the spouses use to them, or Ego uses to his or her subclan "siblings of same sex", and on the other the spouses' "siblings of same sex" and Ego's subclan "siblings of same sex's" spouses term Ego by the appropriate reciprocal. Thus Ego male terms both his formal elder brother and the latter's spouse tuwa and she terms him bwada; he terms his spouse's formal younger sister bwada and she both her elder sister and the latter's spouse tuwa reciprocally and so on.

The Social Identification of Spouses.

Structurally the statuses of Ego's and his or her siblings of the same

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(26) Cf. Malinowski 1929, pp. 434, 435 and 448.

sex's spouses and their siblings of the same sex are the same, as analogues of originative or transmissive modes of other units of communication, in relation to Ego's status as the analogue of a transmissive or originative mode. That is, Ego may be said terminologically and formally to identify him- or herself with his or her spouse in relation to the latter's siblings of the same sex, and to identify the spouses of his or her siblings of the same sex with the siblings. This does not imply any identification or confusion of the psychobiological roles and characteristics of husbands and wives; but it does imply that formally Ego and his or her spouse are regarded as being of the same "social" or "structural" sex in relation to one another's siblings of the same sex. The usage thus implies a formal reversal of the social significance of biological sex, as in the case of the "male wife", and in the reversal of the interpretation of biological characteristics as between subclan and affinal kin as expressive of social equivalence and opposition (pp. 256-258). Conceptually, therefore, in as much as they are by this usage of the same formal sex, marriage between Ego and his or her spouse's sibling of the same sex would be inappropriate, and this will explain structurally the social disapproval of such marriages, which is further discussed later.

At the same time in identifying socially Ego with his or her spouse, and Ego's siblings of the same sex with their spouses, the usage may be said to imply an element of opposition in the formal status relation of Ego and Ego's siblings of the same sex. In discussing the relationships of subclan tuwa and bwada (usage 2, pp. 232 ff.) the terminological distinction of relative seniority within the same sex and generation was referred to the occurrence of later or earlier marriages among them and the consequent

structurally significant difference in their social positions. This in turn may now be traced to the introduction, as it were, of an element of formal opposition in their otherwise equivalent statuses as male members of the same subclan and generation through their identification with their spouses. For although from the viewpoint of the formal affinal relations of their total subclans ~~Ego and Ego's siblings of the same sex~~ the statuses of all members of Ego's generation are the same in relation to the members of the corresponding generation of the subclans of all their spouses, as lubou or ivata, affinal tuwa or bwada as the case may be, yet from Ego's point of view his or her own marriage has unique significances not shared by those of the other members of his generation in two respects; it involves him in specific roles, both personal and formal, in relation to individuals which do not follow automatically from the marriages of other members of his or her subclan; and his own marriage, and the personal and formal relationships that ensue from it both for himself and his total subclan, are conditional upon his will, whereas the formal relationships in which Ego is involved in consequence of the marriages of other members of the subclan are, so far as Ego is concerned, involuntary, being conditional not upon Ego's but upon others' wills, although to what extent Ego may personally undertake specific roles in others' marriage relationships as a formal representative (lubou or ivata) of the subclan in its corporate affinal relationships is contingent upon his will to fulfil responsibilities as a member. But what makes Ego's marriage unique is not the presence of a different formal relationships between Ego and the affines concerned, but rather the absence in formal relationships through the marriages of others, which are the same as those through Ego's own marriage, of the specific

reciprocal relationships with individual members of the same elementary family of procreation which result from Ego's own marriage.

Incest Taboos and Suvasova.

As Malinowski reported, there is a taboo on sexual intercourse with the siblings of spouses and the spouses of siblings (27), and marriage between them is socially disapproved. There is thus no sororal polygyny or fraternal polyandry, and the absence of the former particularly is structurally explained by the unique significance of the marriage contract as discussed, and the consequent formal identification of spouses apparent in the affinal tuwa-bwada usage, whereby the spouses become of the same "social sex" and marriage as a social contract between them is consequently formally inappropriate. This explains conceptually the absence of any automatic sororate or levirate, while the same considerations adduced in discussing the absence of sororal polygyny in particular from the viewpoint of the significance of marriage in social organisation (pp. 262-263) also apply here. There it was suggested that the absence of such practices is advantageous from the viewpoint of the efficient exploitation of the corporate subclan's resources, since a formal relation between subclans is fully established by a single marriage between representatives of each. There is thus as it were nothing to be gained structurally by the duplication of existing marriages, and from this viewpoint sororal polygyny might result in a waste of subclan personnel and material resources which otherwise might have been used to establish other affinal relations where none previously existed.

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(27) 1929, pp. 384, 423, 425.

The taboo between husband or wife and the spouse's sibling of the same sex is to be regarded as of the same order of significance as that on sexual intercourse between father and daughter (cf. pp. 116 ff.). No rule of exogamy precludes marriage in either case, and, as Malinowski said, breach of these taboos does not count as suvasova, a term which he took to denote "breach of exogamy" and any degree of "clan incest". More precisely the term can be said to mean sexual intercourse with a member of Ego's own exogamous group, i.e. clan or of course subclan; thus suvasova may or may not be "incestuous" in the sense of sexual intercourse between members of a single elementary family. Summarising various sexual offences, Malinowski wrote "3. Sexual intercourse with the own daughter is not called suvasova; it is not sanctioned by supernatural penalties; it is felt to be extremely bad; there are several cases on record"; and "5. Intercourse with a wife's sister is not a form of suvasova, but it is considered bad; marriage, whether in the form of polygamy or with a deceased wife's sister, is strongly disapproved of, but it does occur, while intrigues are not infrequent" (28). Whatever psychological bases might be found for either of these taboos, their social explanation may be found in their occurrence in relationships between formal affines whose marriages would duplicate existing affinal relationships between other members of their total subclans, and would to this extent also duplicate the existing affinal relations between the individuals proposing to marry. A girl's marriage with a formal father, or father's sister's son, would duplicate the existing marriage of her mother and father; that of a man with his wife's sister would duplicate the affinal relationships already established by his

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(28) Ibid, pp. 447-449.

first marriage.

Malinowski's accounts show that the force of the different taboos varies. The term incest is here reserved to denote sexual intercourse which contravenes the psychological conditioning resulting from the personal interaction of members of the same elementary family (cf. pp. 14 ff.). Incest in this sense, which is that in which the term is used by most psychologists, may be taken as primary evidence of neurotic maladjustment. Sexual intercourse between members of exogamous groups as such can hardly be considered to be incestuous in this sense, still less intercourse between husband and wife's sister or wife and husband's brother. Cases of intercourse of the latter type may arouse emotional reactions comparable to those evoked by incest proper where the individuals concerned are "close" personal kin, so that some degree of psychological identification obtains between one or other of the partners to the sexual act and a personal or own kinsman of the forbidden degree, with whom intercourse would be incestuous in the psychological sense indicated. But taboos on sexual intercourse between the formal kin concerned may be explained socially, as against psychologically, on the hypothesis that the sexual act is to some extent identified or equated socially with marriage, in as much as the terms of the marriage contract cover sexual as well as other rights, so that under the appropriate circumstances the sexual act may appear to acquire some of the significance of the marriage contract itself. Thus the father - daughter, spouse - spouse's sibling of the same sex taboos may be regarded as arising from social disapproval of sexual intercourse where marriage is regarded as less desirable than in other cases, because it would duplicate existing marriages. This social explanation

supplements also the psychological consideration of the brother - sister taboo already put forward in Chapter II, Section 4, esp. pp. 142-147.

Inheritance of Wives.

Thus, as Malinowski's summary quoted on page 283 shows, both sexual intercourse and marriage between men and their wives' sisters is strongly disapproved. The former is not subject to formal sanctions as such, but in so far as it involves adultery (kaylasi - 29) by at least one of the partners in the act it is subject to the appropriate sanctions. The disapproval of marriage may appear to contradict other statements made by Malinowski to the effect that Chiefs tend to inherit their predecessors' wives, since a Chief may be succeeded by his formal younger brother (bwada) (30). Discussion with my informants indicated that there is in fact no levirate or sororate as such. The only records or traditions of polygamists marrying more than one woman from the same subclan, let alone personal or own sisters, are of cases of replacement marriages, whereby a dead wife of a Chief is replaced by a young woman of her subclan. The replacement wife (kaymapula) is married to the Chief soon after the ending of his mourning for her predecessor, and although the exchanges marking the marriage may be exiguous, they yet mark not a contimuation of the old contract but the conclusion of a new one. If the Chief is himself an old man the replacement wife may be married to his successor designate, in order to postpone the likelihood of another interruption in the formal affinal relations of the subclans concerned (31).

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(29) Malinowski, 1929, Cap. V, Sec. 2.
(30) Ibid., p. 114, 115-116.
(31) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, p. 112.

Similarly a Chief's successor may marry those of his predecessor's wives who are young, but is more likely to be given younger women from their subclans if any are available. If the successor is a younger brother, wives of the old Chief may stay on in his village and be termed and regarded as wives of the successor by courtesy; if the successor is a sister's son, any such women whom he did not marry might stay on in the village as his affinal ina (mother - kada's wife, usage 13). But more often perhaps they, like other widows, would go to live with a married daughter, or perhaps to their own subclans' villages where they might be given houses of their own. A Chief's successor takes over his predecessor's position, but not the affinal contracts entered into by him in virtue of it; the new Chief must build up his own affinal alliances beyond the range of villages and owning subclans so closely related to his own as to constitute a single political group, i.e. basically the Chief's village cluster. Except in the case of Chiefs there is normally no question of replacement marriages of this kind, still less of widow inheritance as such.

12. Tama and affinal Latu. Appendix, Diagram 6 (32)

In the personal sense tama designates the husband of the woman in whose elementary family of procreation Ego is reared, unless this happens to be the household of a male member of Ego's subclan (or clan). The reciprocal affinal latu then designates the children whom Ego male rears as members of his wife's family of procreation, unless they are adopted members of his own subclan.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of tama and affinal latu

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(32) Malinowski 1929, esp. Cap. VII, Secs. 3, 4 and 6, and pp. 384, 434, 435 445 ff.

is indirect, being the analogue of that between the originative mode of one and the latent mode of another unit of communication which are in a relation of communication through the originative mode of the first and the transmissive mode of the second unit, which is that of the latent mode.

In the strict formal sense the term tama includes in a single category all male members of the same and the proximal generations of the subclans of the husbands of women of the first ascending generation of Ego's subclan, and latu similarly designates all children of all wives of all men of Ego's and both proximal generations of his subclan; but in a wider sense tama may designate all males, as against females, of "fathers'" subclans, and latu the "children" of all males, as against females, of Ego's subclan.

Derivative Nature of the formal Tama-Latu Relation.

The formal significance of this relation derives from those of the husband-wife - wife's brother (mwala - kwava - lubou) and mother - child (ina - latu) relations. The close emotional bonds between tama and personal latu give rise to elements in their relations which are not inherent in the formal aspect. In relation to tama the formal significance of the status of latu female derives from her social equivalence with her ina, tama's wife, that of latu male from his equivalence with his kada, tama's wife's brother, as members of the same total corporate group. From Ego's viewpoint however he may be said to be socially identified, in one sense, with his wife's brother (lubou, the selfreciprocal use of this term stressing the complementary aspect of this relationship) as his male representative in his sister's household. This aspect of the formal lubou relationship is most apparent in what Malinowski called "the paradoxical state of affairs" whereby it is the father who is "of

all the girl's family, the person who has most to say about her marriage, although legally he is not reckoned as her kinsman (veyola)" (33; and v. below Cap. V Sec. 1). It is of course one of the tama's major duties to his wife's brother, who cannot because of the respect relation between himself and his sister intervene personally in her private domestic affairs, to arrange her children's marriage on behalf of her brother as the male representative of his sister's corporate subclan.

We have already seen that the formal relation between father and child is affinal, resulting from the marriage of the child's mother. The use of the distinct terms tama and ina which distinguish the male from the female parent may from this viewpoint be interpreted not only as recognising their biologically differentiated relations with the child, but also as asserting the element of opposition in the socially attributed significance of the relation between the sexes as the means whereby formal relations are established between structural units, the complementary aspect of their social relation being apparent in their reciprocal roles in the elementary family. Similarly the complementary aspect of the formal relation between tama and latu is apparent in their reciprocal roles in the elementary family, and the reciprocal use of the terms asserts the element of social and structural opposition in their status relations. The use of the same term latu by both parents of the children may be interpreted as an assertion of the social identity of spouses, as discussed in connection with the affinal tuwa-bwada usage, pp. 282 ff.

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(33) Malinowski, 1929, p. 72.

In the extension of the term tama to the male members of the mother's husband's subclan may be seen an expression of the social unity of the subclan and the social equivalence of its male members in relation to other subclans; the next usage to be discussed (affinal tabu) similarly asserts the social equivalence of the female members. The term includes strictly Ego's subclan mothers' husbands, their subclan brothers, mothers' brothers and sisters' sons, i.e. tama's subclan (not affinal) tuwa and bwada and kada. These usages as we have seen distinguish the relative statuses of males of the same and proximal generations of the same subclan, while the selfreciprocal use of the term kada asserts the social equivalence of the proximal generations, in the internal structuring of the subclan; the merging of these three generations in the tama usage reflects their social and structural equivalence in the external affinal relationships of the total subclan, as all the other affinal usages reflect the formal significances of the sexes and generations in the affines' subclan from the point of view of their significance in the external relation with Ego's subclan, rather than from that of their significance in their internal relationships with each other.

Formal Status of Ascending and Descending Generations of Affines' Subclans.

In analysing the terms mwala and kwava, ivata and lubou, tuwa and bwada we saw that in their use towards the affines of Ego's generation and subclan these terms distinguish statuses in the structure of the subclan which in relation to Ego's status are analogues of active modes of communication from others which are analogues of passive modes, as e.g. the status of the descending generation of the affines' subclan where the members are collectively termed latu. Turning again to Diagram 2 the brackets alongside

the generation symbols B indicate potential ways of grouping the generations and sexes represented in B as analogues of the unit of communication A, which shows the unit of communication corresponding to the subclan as a single unit of kinship in its affinal relationships with other units. In the terms used by Ego to affines of his own generation, which corresponds to generation B 3 of the diagram, the statuses of the sexes in the corresponding generation of the affines' subclan are differentiated terminologically in the usages lubou, ivata, affinal tuwa and bwada, and of course mwala or kwava. In the relationships to which these terms refer the statuses of the sexes are thus analogues of active modes of communication of unit A, and have distinct social meanings as such so that they are terminologically distinguished. The sexes of the ascending generations of the spouse's subclan are however terminologically merged in the yawa usage, which also merges the generations, whose collective status in relation to that of Ego may thus be explained as the analogue of the passive quiescent mode of communication. That is, the two ascending generations are treated terminologically as though they were a single "post adult" social generation (cf. pp 301 ff).

The term lubou may however be used in a wider sense to distinguish the collective status of all males of the wife's subclan from that of the females (p. 192). Similarly the term tama may be used to distinguish the collective status of all the male from that of the female members of "fathers'" subclans. But the strict use of the term merges the men of the fathers' and the two proximal generations of their subclans, and distinguishes their collective status from that of the women and of both sexes in the alternate generations, who are all counted as affinal tabu (usage 15, p. 306 ff). This strict

usage of the term may be said to treat the father's and the proximal generations of his subclan as constituting a single "adult" social generation with a status that is the analogue of the active modes of communication, so that the sexes as analogues of the two active modes are terminologically distinguished in these generations of the father's subclan. Thus in the affinal relationships established through the marriages of the generation of Ego's subclan contemporaries only the equivalent generation in the affinally related subclan is terminologically treated as having a social adult status, so that the sexes are distinguished formally within it in the lubou, ivata etc. usages, while in the ascending and descending generations they are merged in the yawa, affinal latu and tabu usages. In the affinal relations established by the marriages of members of the ascending generation of Ego's subclan however the strict formal usage treats not only the corresponding but also the two proximal generations of the affines' subclan as a single socially adult generation. This can best be understood if it is borne in mind that in the marriages of his own generation Ego's and his affines' statuses are in a structurally direct relationship with actual or potential specific reciprocal roles in the affinal interaction of the total subclans; in the affinal relations established through the marriages of other generations of Ego's subclan however Ego's generation's status relations with members of the other subclans are structurally indirect, and do not in themselves involve the carrying out of actual or potential reciprocal roles as formal representatives of the total subclans.

As applied by Ego male to children of his male kada the affinal latu usage may also, like the tama usage, sometimes designate the collective status

of all males of the subclans of the kada's wives, but its strict use designates only members of their subclans of the generation of the kada's wife's children. This usage, like other affinal usages, merges in a single terminological and social category members of both sexes, many or all generations and a number of subclans who stand in the same formal relationship to Ego through his social equivalence as a member of his own subclan with its members. The reciprocal use of the terms tama and latu may, as we saw on p. 292, be interpreted as asserting the element of opposition in the formal status relations of "fathers" and "children". But the term is also applied to affinal kin other than those to whom Ego counts as formal tama. As we have seen Ego terms the children of his subclan kada as his children also; and he may extend the same usage to children of persons who fall into the category kada as his affines, not as members of his subclan. This affinal kada usage is associated with the use towards affines of the term ina, which as we have seen (Usage 3, p. 237 ff.) denotes in subclan kinship the women of the first ascending generation of Ego's subclan, as well as his personal "mother".

13. Affinal Ina and Kada. Diagram 6 of Appendix. (34).

There are two types of affinal "mothers" in the first ascending generation from that of Ego; the first are the wives of his formal "fathers", and the second the wives of his subclan kada. In either case this usage of the term ina classes into a single formal category women of a number of different subclans, but there is a significant difference between them in that

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(34) These usages are noted by Malinowski, 1929, Diagram 1, p. 435, but they are not discussed by him.

in sense 1, Ego's affinal "mothers" are the affines of affines; i.e. they are the wives of Ego's formal fathers, that is of the brothers of men who are themselves the husbands of Ego's subclan "mothers". In sense 2, the women are direct affines of Ego's subclan kada, and their brothers have specific structural status and formal roles in the affinal relationships of Ego's subclan, though not in Ego's generation's marriages, and are termed yawa. But the brothers of Ego's ina in affinal sense 1 are not direct affines of Ego's subclan and have no specific roles in its affinal relations in virtue of this relationship; in so far as a social relationship is involved at all, they are classed as kada by a logical extension of the terminology of subclan kinship, and the children of such affinal ina, their mothers and other members of their subclans may similarly be classed as tuwa, bwada or luta, tabu etc. by Ego and his subclan contemporaries.

An affinal ina of type 1 may become Ego's mother in the personal sense if he is adopted by a brother of his father in early childhood (cf. Cap. V, Section 2; girls are never adopted by their fathers' brothers); or an affinal ina of type 2 may become the personal mother of Ego of either sex in the case of "adoption" by, or upbringing in the household of, a subclan kada, or mother's brother.

The structural relation between the statuses of Ego and those of affinal ina of either type is in one sense the same in either case, being analogous to the relation between the latent passive mode of one unit of communication and the active transmissive mode of another unit. But whereas in type 2 the relation is established through the originative mode of the same unit as that of the latent (through the status of Ego's kada), in type 1 the

originative mode involved belongs to another unit than that of the latent or the transmissive modes; that is the analogous statuses involved are those of Ego as a member of his subclan - father and father's brother as affines of Ego's subclan - father's brother's wife as affine of father's subclan.

In the formal sense affinal ina of the first type include all the wives, other than women of Ego's own subclan or clan, of all men whom Ego terms tama (father); this usage includes in the widest sense the wives of all men of all subclans one at least of whose members is married to a woman of the first ascending generation of Ego's subclan. Affinal ina of the second type include in the widest sense the wives of all men whom Ego terms kada, not only kada in his own subclan, but also the brothers of his ina (mothers) of affinal type 1. But the brothers of affinal ina type 2 (i.e. the brothers of Ego's mothers' brothers' wives) are classed not as kada but as yawa (usage 14, pp. 302 ff.).

Affinal Ina as formal Father's Wife.

Affinal ina usage 1 is to be regarded as a logical extension of the use of the term towards the women of the first ascending generation of Ego's subclan, his formal "mothers" whose husbands are Ego's formal fathers. By analogy the wives of other formal fathers (the brothers or other male members of the subclans of men married to Ego's subclan mothers) are also classed as ina. Such a logical extension of an usage is however possible only because the relation between Ego's subclan and that of such an affinal ina is consequent upon the relation of each with that of one or other of Ego's formal fathers. Such an indirect relation does not of itself impose reciprocal affinal rights and obligations upon Ego's and his affinal mother's

subclans, whose members have no specific status in relation with each other as affines. But Ego is likely as a child to have personal relationships with many such "mothers", if his parents follow the normal pattern of residence and live in his personal father's subclan's village. Here there will be a number of men of the subclan in residence with their wives and children, and Ego's personal relationship with these women and their husbands will be similar to, though not so intensive as, his relationship with his own mother, father and siblings. This logical extension of the term ina is thus consistent with Ego's relationship with his fathers' subclan's affines, though only in the absence of another direct relation of affinal or clan kinship between his and their subclans.

The logical extension of the usages of subclan kinship does not end with the women concerned, but includes also their brothers, who are termed kada as already noted, their mothers and mothers' brothers, their children and other members of their subclans who may, on occasion, be termed tabu, tuwa or luta as the case may be. The children of these affinal ina are in many cases members of Ego's playgroup in the village of his upbringing; it will be recalled that Ego's relationships with these "mothers" and their children in the village playgroup were indicated, in Chapter II, pp. 142 ff., as possibly significant conditioning factors in the personality development of Kiriwinan children. But, as has been said, the use of the terms in these relationships does not in itself involve the existence of significant formal relationships between the subclans concerned. If the wife of a formal father of Ego belongs to the same clan as does Ego, then she and the rest of her subclan will be Ego's clan kin, and as such the same terms will apply to her and them

as would be extended to them on the basis of the relationship through Ego's father: the use of the terms would then have formal significance in virtue not of the indirect relationship with the "mother" as an affine of Ego's father's subclan, but of the direct relationship with her as a clan kinswoman. On the other hand, the subclan of such an affinal ina may belong to a different clan than Ego's, and one if its members might well be married to a member of Ego's own subclan. In this case the direct affinal relationship between their subclans would determine the formal status relationships and usages between Ego and the "mother's" subclan, but their indirect relationship as "mother" and "child", and "brothers" and "sisters", would provide Ego's personal frame of reference in his interaction with them as members of the village in which he was brought up (cf. Section 5 p. 331 ff.).

Affinal Ina as Mother's Brother's Wife.

But the use of the term ina of the kada's wife cannot similarly be explained as a logical extension of the ina usage of subclan kinship. There are direct affinal relationships between Ego's subclan and those of his mothers' brothers' wives in virtue of their marriages, so that the status relations of the members are structurally significant and involve specific reciprocal rights and obligations. The terms used therefore have specific meanings, as is apparent in the fact that though a mother's brother's wife is termed ina, her brothers are, as we saw, classed not as kada but as yawa, a term which designates direct affines of Ego's subclan whose status involves no specific roles in the marriages which establish the elementary families of orientation or procreation of Ego. Further we have seen that Ego uses the same term, latu, to the child of his male kada's wife as does the kada; this

was explained as evidencing the structural and social equivalence of the status of kada in their relations with affines. These usages are in a sense not consistent with the extension of the term ina to the kada's wife, which must be considered as a structurally specific and significant usage also, which may be said to come about through the social identification of the status relation between her and Ego with that between Ego and his subclan ina, and also through her identification with her husband, who is socially Ego's "male mother" (cf. p. 246).

As we saw in discussing usages 1 (luta, pp. 231 ff.) 7, 8 (kwava and mwala, pp. 259 ff.) and 10 (ivata, pp. 265 ff.), there is a complementary element in the relations between the structurally opposed statuses of husband and wife and of sisters- (and of course brothers-) in-law, while the statuses of brother and sister are structurally equivalent. These aspects of their status relationships were held to explain the selfreciprocal use of the terms ivata between sisters-in-law and luta between brother and sister. The element of social identification in the relation between husband and wife was said to be apparent in their use of the same term latu of the wife's uterine and subclan "children", as well as in the use by each of the same terms (tuwa and bwada) as the spouse uses of his or her "siblings" of the same sex. The terminological identification of the mother's brother's wife with the mother is thus consistent with these structural aspects of the relations between her status and those of Ego's mothers and mothers' brothers in relation to Ego's own status. It is also consistent with the personal relationships between Ego, his mother, mother's brother and the latter's wife as these relationships are affected by the factor of residence.

We have seen that during Ego's childhood his father represents his mother's brother for purposes of formal interaction since the latter is prevented by the respect relationship toward his sister from intervening personally in the relationships of her household. When Ego moves to his mother's brother's village the latter is enabled to act as his own formal representative as it were toward his sister's son; but at the same time the son's personal relationship with his mother tends to be affected by the respect relation between her and her brother, which restricts her freedom of interaction with members of the latter's village of residence to some extent. In this situation the mother's brother's wife may act as the representative of her husband's sister in matters connected with her son's formal, especially his marriage, relationships. Like other formal aspects of the relationships of women this is most apparent in ritual situations such as at mortuary rites, where a mother's brother's wife may act as a substitute for a mother whose son is mourning his dead wife. On the other hand women have little active part in such formal activities as the presentation of harvest gifts, so that at the level of the economic, political and jural aspects of formal interaction as against the ritual the mother's brother's wife as such has no formal role, beyond that of bringing her own and her husband's subclans into an affinal relationship through her marriage. Nevertheless as her <u>ivata</u> she can approach her husband's sister freely where he can not, and may do so on his behalf, providing him with an alternative to approaching his sister's husband on occasions when he needs to know his sister's mind but cannot approach her directly himself; e.g. in connection with the marriages of his sister's children. This is however not a formal part of the role of the <u>kada</u>'s wife

as ivata of her husband's sister, while her possible significance as a social substitute for the mother is not important if Ego is female, and does not go to live upon marriage in her mother's brother's village, but in that of her husband.

The use of the term ina of mother's brother's wife appears to some extent to be conditional upon actual interaction with her in formal situations. Young children especially may use the term tabu of her, in the same way that men of the alternate generations of Tama's subclan are classed as tabu with the women of their subclan. Ego female regularly uses the term tabu of the children of her brother and his wife, this being the selfreciprocal use of the term for a father's sister. Thus Ego female may use different terms for the children of her ivata, brother's wife and husband's sister, the children of the former being always and those of the latter sometimes classed as tabu though more correctly classed as latu. The use of the term tabu here suggests again the identification of the relationship with the child of the one with that of the other kind of ivata, the friendly nature of the relation with both being reflected in the use of the term tabu of their children. This term, together with the term yawa to which reference has also been made, will now be considered, taking the yawa usages first.

14. Yawa. V. Appendix, Diagrams 5 and 6 (35).

In so far as it has a personal sense, this term may be said to apply primarily to the parents of Ego's spouse and their siblings and spouses. It is used selfreciprocally, and thus applies also to the spouses of the children of Ego of either sex, and to the spouses of Ego male's sister's

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(35) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, pp. 434, 435.

children.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of yawa is analogous to that between the originative or transmissive mode of one unit of communication and the quiescent or latent mode of another, through the transmissive or originative mode of the second unit; i.e. structurally the relations are the same as in the tama - latu usage.

The term is also used of the spouses of the affines of the members of Ego's generation of his subclan, i.e. of lubou's or ivata's spouse, where he or she is not a member of Ego's subclan. The structural relation of these statuses is analogous to that between an active mode of one unit of communication in an indirect relation with an active mode of another through the direct relation of these modes with the active modes of a third unit. In diagram 1 of the Appendix, this relation is represented in that between the active modes of the left and right hand units which are indirectly related through the direct relation of each with the active modes of the middle unit. The structural relation between Ego and the siblings of opposite sex of the spouses of Ego's siblings of opposite sex is the same. No specific reciprocal roles are involved in any yawa relationship which all derive from affinal relationships in terms of which Ego has such reciprocal roles with other affines, as lubou, ivata etc.

In the formal sense the term includes in a single category all members of the ascending generations of Ego's and his subclan siblings' spouses' subclans; the men of the same, and all members of ascending, generations of the subclans of the wives of Ego's mothers' brothers; the siblings of opposite sex of the spouses of Ego's siblings of opposite sex, and the spouses

of the siblings of opposite sex of the spouses of Ego and Ego's subclan siblings of the same sex; and the spouses of members of the proximal descending generation of Ego's subclan. That is, the term designates Ego's and Ego's tuwa's and bwada's spouses' tama, ina, kada and tabu; Ego's kada's (mother's brother's) wife's ina, kada, luta and tabu; the spouses of lubou, ivata and affinal tuwa and bwada (except where they are members of Ego's subclan); lubou's or ivata's luta; and the spouses of latu and kada (sister's son). The term may also be used of the spouses of all these yawa, and all members of their subclans who do not stand in a more specific affinal relationship to Ego, and, as has been noted, it is used selfreciprocally. Yawa as such have no reciprocal roles in one anothers' individual marriage contracts, nor formal roles in the relationships of the elementary families established thereby; but some of them are concerned in the establishment of the marriages, though they do so, not as yawa, but in virtue of other relationships. Thus e.g. Ego's spouse's father, mother and mother's brother are directly concerned in negotiating and establishing the marriages and elementary families of procreation of the members of Ego's and his spouse's generation, but once this is done they become Ego's yawa and as such have no further roles to play in his marriage (36).

The yawa usage merges in a single formal category in relation to Ego members of both sexes and different generations and subclans. The element of structural and social opposition in the formal relationships between yawa of all kinds and the members of Ego's generation of his subclan may be said

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(36) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, Cap. IV, esp. Secs. 1 - 3.

to be apparent in their membership of different subclans and elementary families than those of Ego and his subclan siblings, and the selfreciprocal use of the term may be interpreted as expressing the complementary aspect of their formally opposed relationship as members of affinally related subclans. The structural relation between the statuses of all yawa, which is held to explain the usage, is essentially the same; and all are affines, direct or indirect, of Ego's subclan, but belong to generations of their own subclans which have no specific reciprocal roles with Ego's generation of his subclan in virtue of the marriage contracts which establish and maintain the elementary families of orientation or procreation of Ego and his subclan contemporaries. This being so, membership of the same or of different sex, generation or subclan has no relevance socially in the relation between Ego and yawa, who are thus socially without sex, generation etc. characteristics, and cannot be formally distinguished from one another; hence their affinal statuses are not distinguishable terminologically. But of course individuals are well aware of the differences in the significance of their formal and personal relationships with different yawa, e.g. with lubou's wife as against wife's father.

In this usage the statuses of husband and wife are terminologically merged, in as much as the spouses of all yawa in the subclans of the spouses of Ego and his or her subclan siblings of the same sex are also termed yawa. This, like the tama-latu - ina, the affinal tuwa - bwada and affinal ina (kada's wife) usages, may be said to reflect the social identification of the statuses of husband and wife, which in turn is a manifestation of the complementary aspect of the social opposition of their statuses. As applied

to the spouses of lubou or ivata however, the use of the term yawa distinguishes the statuses of the husband and wife concerned. The basic significance of the usage may thus be said to be that it distinguishes affines who have no specific reciprocal roles in the established marriages and elementary families of procreation of Ego and Ego's subclan siblings of the same sex from those who have such roles, through the affinal contracts of Ego and the other members of his own generation and subclan. Thus the use of the term towards members of Ego's wife's subclan differentiates the alternate generations and the proximal ascending generation, whose members have no reciprocal roles towards Ego in virtue of his marriage contract, from the spouse's own and the first descending generation, where reciprocal roles are involved. Similarly the use of the term distinguishes the statuses of their spouses from those of Ego's lubou or ivata, the latter having specific reciprocal roles in relation to Ego in virtue of Ego's marriage, while their spouses have none. The affinal tabu usage has comparable significances in respect of a different range of kin, and the two terms will be further examined together.

15. Affinal Tabu. Appendix, Diagrams 5 and 6 (37).

In its personal sense the term tabu as applied to affines refers primarily to the "sister" for whom Ego's personal father (tama) gardens, and selfreciprocally to the child of the "brother" who gardens for Ego female.

Structurally the relation between the statuses of Ego and all affinal tabu is analogous to that between the passive mode of one unit of

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(37) Malinowski, 1929, Index s.v. Paternal Relatives, esp. pp. 450-451.

communication and the transmissive mode of the other, through the transmissive mode of the first and the originative mode of the second unit. But because of the intermediacy of the latter modes, the relation between the affinal tabu statuses is indirect and thus comparable to that between the two passive modes of the same unit; hence the terminological identification of the affinal status with that of alternate generations within the same subclan.

In the formal sense the primary meaning of the term as used of affines may be said to be that it includes in a single category all the women of the subclans of Ego's formal fathers. But as we have seen (pp. 293-294), the males of the alternate generations of these subclans may also be termed tabu, while the term is used also of the children of Ego male's lubou, and of the children of Ego female's subclan "brothers". It may also be used of the total subclans with any one member of which Ego can trace a tabu relationship of affinal or subclan kinship.

In as much as the usages of this term, like that of ina, tama and others, includes both affinal and subclan kin in the single category tabu, the affinal may be said to be identified socially with the subclan kin, which implies that the structurally significant elements in the relationships between all tabu are essentially similar. The analysis of the meaning of the sexes and generations by which their terminological merging was explained in reference to the use of the term between members of the same subclan (usage 6, pp. 247 ff.), thus applies also to its affinal use; but the latter, like the use of the term among clan kin, merges members of different subclans and clans, as well as of both sexes and different generations, in a single category in relation to Ego. This terminological merging of subclans may be said to

express both the structural and social unity of Ego's subclan in relation to its collective affines on the one hand, and the structural equivalence of the latters' subclans as affines of that of Ego on the other, notwithstanding the fact that in relation to each other the subclans of Ego's affines are structurally opposed units of social organisation, while the statuses of their members are also socially opposed. On the other hand subclans of a single clan which are affinally related to Ego's, between the members of which the rule of exogamy prevents marriage, may be said to be structurally equivalent units. These observations also apply in general of course to the extension to affines of all terms which, so far as each individual Ego is concerned, apply initially to members of only one subclan. That is the terms as initially learnt by Ego refer to members of the subclans with which he is related through the individuals involved with him in his "initial situations" of kinship; through his mother, mother's brother, father and to some extent father's sister on the one hand, and through his own and his siblings' spouses on the other.

The selfreciprocal use of the term <u>tabu</u> in its affinal sense may be said to express the complementary aspect of the relationship between affines, as it similarly expresses the structural and social equivalence of alternate generations of the same subclan; it is in this aspect of its significance that the structural similarity of the relationships between affinal and subclan <u>tabu</u> can be found. In its use within the subclan the essential significance of the term was said to be that it included in a single category all members of those generations of the subclan which have no specific reciprocal roles in the marriage contracts which establish the elementary

families of Ego and his generation of the subclan. Since it is in reference to such specific roles in affinal contracts and in elementary family relationships which are their physical embodiments, as it were, that the generations and sexes have social meaning, where the generations have no such roles they and the sexes cannot be distinguished terminologically or socially from this viewpoint within the subclan. Similarly affinal tabu are members of subclans which have direct affinal relations with each other, but who have no specific roles in the marriage contracts or elementary families in which Ego as a member of his or her sex, generation and subclan normally has such specific reciprocal roles.

Thus the women of Ego's father's subclans, who may be taken as the typical affinal tabu, have no specific reciprocal roles in Ego's formal elementary family relationships, though Ego's fathers have such roles in the marriages of their sisters, as the male representatives of their subclans. The terminological identification of fathers' sisters with the alternate generations of Ego's subclan kin may to this extent be seen as an acknowledgement of the similarity of the relation between Ego and both affinal and subclan kin of these kinds. Neither the affinal nor the subclan tabu relationship involves Ego in reciprocal roles with tabu as such, except that both types of tabu may perform certain ritual and ceremonial services for Ego, as e.g. the performance of beauty magic at public dances; but such ceremonial observances may be taken as symbolising and reinforcing the formal relationship between Ego and the tabu. In the case of fathers' sisters their performance of such services may be taken as symbolising their status as "female fathers", and reinforcing a formal relationship which is not otherwise strengthened by

the carrying out of reciprocal roles with their brothers' children. Ego's use of the term for the children of lubou or ivata may similarly be interpreted as reflecting the closeness of the relation between brothers- and sisters-in-law which nevertheless does not involve Ego in reciprocal obligations towards their children as such. The relation between affinal tabu thus parallels both in closeness and in the absence of specific reciprocal formal roles the relation between subclan tabu, the members of the alternate generations to that of Ego.

Comparison of Yawa and affinal Tabu Statuses.

The term yawa also refers, as we have seen (usage 14, pp. 302 ff. ; v. Diagrams 5 and 6), to members of subclans with direct or indirect affinal relations with Ego's, who have themselves no specific reciprocal relations individually with Ego or members of his generation of his subclan in virtue of these formal status relations. But the relationship between Ego and yawa is not characterised by the degree of personal interaction that tends to obtain between children and their fathers' sisters as a by-product of the relation between these tabu and their ivata, the children's mothers, and between children and the brothers of their fathers and mothers, as each others' lubou. The term yawa thus distinguishes affines whose formal relationships with Ego are similar to those with tabu, but which lack the degree of personal interaction and closeness that characterises the relation with tabu affines, and leads to their being classed with members of Ego's own subclan. Associated with this distinction is the fact that tabu affines are found in subclans with members of which marriage is preferred for members of Ego's generation in his own subclan. Thus Ego male's paternal cross-cousins count as affinal tabu,

while his maternal cross cousins count as latu, and their mothers' brothers as yawa; while in the case of Ego female, her maternal cross cousin is classed as tabu, but both her paternal cross cousins and their mother's brothers count as tama. But these are only some of many tabu; some collateral cousins, members of the subclans of the spouses of Ego's mothers' mothers and their brothers and others, count as affinal tabu also. The Kiriwinan preference is for marriage between members of the tabu rather than of other categories of affinal kin, rather than for marriage with a close maternal or paternal cross cousin of appropriate sex as such.

Section 4. Preferred Marriages.

The formal basis of this preference may be found in the consideration that the relationships of affinal tabu are such that marriage between them will not involve the duplication of any existing relationships between their subclans by marriage, although it might reverse existing relationships.(Cf. pp. 285-286). We have seen that a man's marriage with his wife's sister or with the subclan sister of the wife of one of his subclan brothers, would duplicate the existing affinal relationship between their respective subclans through the man's or his "brother's" marriage, and that such marriages are socially disapproved. Similarly a marriage between a man and a woman of his mother's brother's wife's subclan would duplicate that of the mother's brother, while the marriage of a woman with her father's sister's son would duplicate that of her father and mother. On the other hand a man's marriage with the sister of his sister's husband would reverse the affinal relation established through his sister's marriage, and his marriage with his father's sister's daughter or any woman of her subclan, who all count as affinal tabu, would reverse the

affinal relationship established through his father's marriage.

Duplication of existing affinal relationships by marriage with a living spouse's sibling of the same sex would involve polygamy, and in as much as this is a prerogative normally restricted to the heads of highranking subclans, such duplicate marriages are not possible in the case of other men, or of any women since there is no polyandry. The polygamy of others than Chiefs, e.g. of sorcerers of repute or of the heads of locally important commoner subclans, is largely a matter of individual privilege more or less tacitly granted by public consent; but that of the Chiefs, as Malinowski's accounts clearly show, is a political mechanism the social utility of which is that it enables Chiefs to become <u>foci</u> of affinal and clan kinship relations in their localities, and hence of economic and political organisation. As a social mechanism a Chief's marriage may be said to be most efficient when he takes only one wife from each of his affines' subclans; to take more at one time would secure him no further political or economic advantages than accrue from the first marriage since the same group of men would have to garden for and otherwise support him in respect of both marriages. The ban on marriage with a wife's subclan sister thus ensures maximum efficiency in the operation of the prerogative of polygyny in political and economic organisation. But the ban affects categories of kin, not individuals, so that it serves also to limit marriages between individuals and members of the subclans of the spouses of their subclan siblings of the same sex. That is, the rule can be invoked to limit the number of marriages between members of any two subclans in the same generation irrespective of polygyny, duplication of such marriages being undesirable for essentially the same reasons in the case of polygamous Chiefs

and monogamous commoners alike; namely, that they add nothing significant to the existing affinal relationship between the subclans, which is fully established by a single marriage, while they may entail wastage of a subclan's resources in material and personnel which might be more advantageously used in establishing and maintaining affinal relations with subclans where none already exist.

The same considerations explain the preference for marriages that reverse, or reciprocate, rather than marriages that duplicate existing affinal relationships between total subclans. As we shall see in the next Section, however, the dissolution of a marriage for any reason terminates also the affinal relations established by it between the total subclans concerned. Thus marriage with formal father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's son is preferred to marriage with formal mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son during the existence of Ego's parents' marriage because the former would reciprocate while the latter would duplicate the existing affinal relation between the respective subclans established by the parents' marriage. On the dissolution of their marriage however father's sister's son and mother's brother's daughter no longer count as formal tama and latu to one another, and the formal objection to their marriage disappears. The preference for reciprocation rather than duplication of existing marriages must however be regarded as permissive rather than positive; the real preference is for marriages which establish affinal relations between subclans where none already exist, although they may have done so in the past. Where a subclan is already related affinally to all subclans of its neighbourhood with which it is desirable that formal relations should be established, there may still

remain a surplus, as it were, of members who in practice will seek wives within the neighbourhood. Their marriages will be affected by the preference for reciprocal rather than duplicate affinal relations between the subclans, provided they are of equivalent rank.

Relative Frequencies of Preferred Marriages.

Statistical evidence shows no actual preference for marriage between own mother's brother's son and father's sister's daughter. Only one marriage of this kind was found in the total of 85 investigated closely, and this is balanced to some extent by one marriage between formal father's sister's son and mother's brother's daughter - that of Toginigini, pp. 114 ff. On the other hand in most of the marriages the husband and wife could by some reckoning or another have been counted before marriage as tabu to each other, and partly because of this, partly also because in many cases genealogical relations were uncertain, no attempt has been made to tabulate frequencies of marriage between different degrees and kinds of kin. But the relative frequencies of marriages providing the only affinal relation between subclans as against those of duplicate and reciprocal marriages can be considered. Thus of the 85 existing marriages investigated - 53 (approximately 64 percent) were the only extant affinal link between the two subclans concerned; 24 (26 percent) were reciprocal; - that is, twelve marriages involved in effect the "exchange" of women between two subclans, seven of them being between the equivalent generations of the subclans, and five as between successive generations. All except three of these reciprocal or "exchange" marriages were between members of the owning subclans of the Omarakana village cluster, and in the other three cases one of the subclans concerned was

an owning subclan of the cluster, though the other was not. Only 8 (10 percent) were duplicate marriages, involving duplication of the direction of wife giving between subclans in an existing marriage, while in six cases the duplicate marriage involved members of the successive generation of the two subclans.

The implications of these data for the analysis of social organisation will be further discussed in the next Chapter; here their significance is that they indicate a numerical preponderance of as well as an expressed preference for marriages which establish affinal relationships where none are in existence, and, where such relationships already exist, for reciprocal rather than duplicate marriages. The six duplicate marriages involving members of successive generations were regarded by informants as replacement marriages, of the type already discussed in connection with Chiefs (pp. 288-289). When these six marriages were contracted the existing marriages between the subclans concerned were already tending towards dissolution, either because of the senility of one or the other spouse or because for some other reason the marriage was regarded as not likely to last, e.g. owing to temperamental or other incompatibilities of the individuals concerned.

Structural Significance of Preferred Marriages.

In the light of the foregoing Malinowski's analysis of Trobriand cross cousin marriage is acceptable only up to a point. His account of the preference for marriage between men and their fathers' sisters' daughters as a means of gratifying the fathers' desire to confer material and other benefits upon their sons may certainly represent possible motivations in individual cases; but such considerations cannot explain the preference for

marriage between affinal tabu, while the empirical fact that only one case of marriage with a female paternal cross cousin was found in 85 marriages examined suggests that these motives have little practical significance in social organisation. On the other hand the preference for marriage between members of the affinal tabu category, of whom the female paternal cross cousin as a member of Ego's father's subclan is only one, has structural significance in as much as it minimises the likelihood of marriages which add nothing to the formal affinal relation between total subclans, and may involve wastage of their resources, while permitting the reinforcing of existing relationships by marriages which reverse them. Thus the preference for marriage with affinal tabu, especially women of the father's or men of the mother's brother's wife's subclans, may tend to produce between subclans of equivalent rank a network of affinal relationships which are fully reciprocal, in as much as it may result in effect in an exchange of women between the subclans, so that the men have at the same time the status of husbands and of wife's brothers toward one another, though different individuals will in practice fulfil the different roles on behalf of their subclans. From this point of view it is unimportant whether the reciprocal marriage occurs in a successive or in the same generation of the two subclans.

Leach's analysis of the structural implications of Trobriand cross-cousin marriage (38) necessarily suffers from Malinowski's limited interest in, or indeed appreciation of, the formal as against the personal aspects of Trobriand kinship as here distinguished. Leach's analysis is a logical

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(38) 1951, passim, s.v. Trobriand system of cross cousin marriage.

treatment of the data as presented by Malinowski, but as the latter never really considered marriage as other than essentially a personal relationship between individuals, this view also underlies Leach's analysis, and gives rise to such assumptions as that there is in fact a formal preference for marriage with the patrilateral female cross cousin as such. But since I am here concerned with marriage primarily as a means of formally relating social units with each other, I am entirely in sympathy with Leach's support of Hsu's criticism of "explanations (of kinship data) which involve a large number of unstated and unverifiable psychological assumptions", as in the various attempts to explain Chinese preferred marriage by postulating antipathies between mothers- and daughters-in-law (39).

I have however gone further in an attempt to dissociate the biologically conditioned psychological content of elementary family group relations from the formal status relations of Trobriand kinship than Leach could have done on the basis of Malinowski's published accounts; but I have at the same time tried to show that the psychological content of such relationships must enter into the operation of the formal kinship system. It is thus quite possible that e.g. the formal preference for marriage with an affinal tabu may in some cases be reinforced by, or even felt or phrased in terms of, psychological attitudes learnt within the elementary family group towards its members and extended by personal identifications to other kin who as members of the same formal kinship categories are socially equivalent for Ego to members of his elementary families who also, as brother or sister,

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(39) Op. cit., p. 36.

mother or father, son or daughter, belong to these formal categories. But although such psychological factors may affect the operation of formal kinship, they neither determine nor explain it as a system of status relations. As we saw in Chapter II, Section 4, incest taboos for example do not give rise to rules of exogamy or vice versa, and the incest taboo between personal fathers and daughters does not afford a structurally significant explanation of the formal preference for marriages between affinal tabu (father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's son) rather than between tama and latu (father's sister's son and mother's brother's daughter), since there are other kinds of tabu, and since no rule of exogamy or endogamy precludes the one or prescribes the other kind of marriage.

As was noted on pp. 275-277, the direction of wife-giving is not of itself formally significant, but becomes so only in the presence of the structurally significant factor of rank difference between the two subclans concerned in a marriage. This in no way contradicts the preceding analysis, but rather follows logically from it, bearing in mind that as Leach pointed out, "as far as the marriage system is concerned, the status relations between Group A and Group B must be taken as given factors in the situation; a marriage is only one of many possible ways of 'expressing' those relations" (40). In reference to the Trobriand material this statement can be interpreted as referring to the point already made, that the formal relations "expressed" in the Trobriand system of kinship and marriage may be "expressed" in other kinds of relationships in other societies, so that formal kinship

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(40) Op. cit., p. 52.

must be regarded as the functional analogue of non-kinship institutions in other social systems. Thus "exchanges", of women, goods and services, symbolise and reinforce the reciprocal formal relations established by the marriage of members of two subclans, which itself expresses the formal contractual relation entered into between the total subclans; but their formal relation, as a structurally significant element in social organisation, consists neither in the marriage nor in the exchanges involved as such. As a structural mechanism of social organisation marriage has the same significance whether it involves the giving or the receiving of a wife by members of a given subclan. The rank factor makes the direction of wife giving structurally significant, and tends to fix it in the opposite direction to that implicit in the so-called preferred paternal cross cousin marriage, which would reverse the direction of wife giving; Chiefs, in as much as they tend to repeat the marriages of their predecessors, themselves marry women from, rather than give wives to, the subclans of their predecessors' wives.

The structural significance of marriage is conceived as being that it establishes a defined system of status relations between total subclans through the formal contract entered into by the members of each subclan, which sets up a formal relationship of reciprocal interaction between the two subclans and their individual members. (Cf. pp. 272-275). From this viewpoint the marriage of two individuals is to be regarded as the material embodiment of the formal contract between the two subclans, and the reciprocal exchange of women, goods or services is to be interpreted as at once symbolising and establishing the general relation of reciprocal interaction between the subclans. Considered from this point of view, the direction of

wife or goods and service giving is structurally immaterial; what matters is the establishing of a reciprocal relation of interaction. There is thus no need either to duplicate or to reverse existing marriages from the point of view of the establishing of a formal affinal relationship between subclans, since this is fully achieved by the marriage of one representative of each; as we have seen, 65 percent of marriages recorded are the only affinal links between the subclans concerned. But if at this level there is no structural reason for reciprocal or duplicate marriages, there is equally no reason against them. Duplicate marriages, by repeating existing marriage relationships as to the direction of wife giving or the rendering of services, may be inefficient and wasteful of the resources of a subclan in terms of its women and its productive manpower, but they do not destroy pre-existing affinal relations between subclans, even though they do not strengthen them structurally, while they have the advantage of being immediately effective as replacements of pre-existing marriages when the latter cease to be effective as the means of relating two subclans. For this reason, as we have seen, the heir designate of an ageing Chief may marry women of the subclans of his predecessor's wives before the old Chief's death.

Reciprocal marriages, on the other hand, in as much as they involve in effect the exchange of women and of goods and services on an equal, fully reciprocal, basis, between two subclans, are not wasteful or inefficient as are duplicate marriages of the resources of the subclans concerned, and have the effect of placing the ceremonial exchanges etc. in which are symbolised and established the formal relation between the subclans on a fully reciprocal basis, although the structural significance of the affinal relationship is

fully established by the first marriage. From this viewpoint the direction of wife giving as between subclans of equivalent rank is not structurally significant so far as the establishing of the formal affinal relationship between the total subclans is concerned, as is indicated by the use of the same term, lubou (Usage 9, pp. 264 ff.), for both sister's husband and wife's brother. The fact that the roles involved may place individual husbands in a position of advantage relative to their wives' brothers does not affect the structural significance of the relationship, since the status relations do not carry any sense, either for the Kiriwinans or in terms of the concept of structure here formulated, of formal super- and subordination in themselves. It is relative rank that produces formal superordination of status in the structural sense; the lubou who is guyau is in a position of superordination in relation to the lubou who is not, whether he is the latter's sister's husband or his wife's brother. (Cf. pp. 275-276, 277-279).

Similarly, the preference for marriage with affinal tabu is not to be regarded as associated with the structural significance of marriage as such, since, for the reasons given, the direction of wife-giving is in itself of no structural significance. Rather, like the fact that it is in marriage and wife-giving that social relations are structured, the preference for tabu marriage is to be considered a consequence of the cultural utilisation of the biological characteristics of sex, generation and elementary family membership as the idiom in which social relationships and interaction are systematised. That is, at the level of social organisation, the preference for marriage with affinal tabu offers advantages for the utilisation of the available human and other resources of a subclan, by discouraging their

wastage in duplicate marriages and promoting full reciprocity in the exchange of women, goods and services between subclans. "Exchange" in this context does not, be it noted, carry the implication of a literal transference of women between two subclans, since as has already been emphasised wives remain fully members of their own matrilineal subclans, as do their children. Moreover no Kiriwinan would phrase such reciprocal marriages as "exchanges" of "sisters" by their "brothers", since such a phrasing would imply interference by the men in the sexual relations of their sisters.

If the direction of wife giving, and the preference for reciprocal as against duplicate marriages, are regarded as structurally not significant, so must be the question of whether an "exchange" of women is completed as between successive generations of two subclans or within a single generation; in either case the structural significance of the formal affinal relationship between the subclans remains the same. The possible advantages of reciprocal as against duplicate marriages are contingent upon the simultaneous existence of more than one marriage between two subclans, and they are the same whether the members of the total subclans involved in the different marriages belong formally to the same or to successive generations. Repetition of the direction of wife-giving in lapsed marriages, as against its duplication in existing marriages, may be desirable for economic or political reasons. Thus during the existence of Ego's father's marriage it is preferable that any marriage between members of Ego's generation of the two subclans, assuming them to be of equivalent rank, should reverse rather than duplicate the direction of wifegiving in the father's marriage. A marriage in Ego's generation between a man of his subclan and a woman of his father's is thus

preferred to one between a man of his father's and a woman of Ego's; i.e. a marriage between affinal tabu is preferred to one between formal tama and latu. But when the father's marriage has lapsed, a marriage between a man of his subclan and a woman of Ego's in Ego's generation would not duplicate but would repeat it, and as we have seen such repetition may be desirable, and is so particularly in the case of Chiefs, for political and economic reasons. Moreover with the termination of the father's marriage the members of the two subclans no longer count formally as affines but as "strangers" (tomakava) to one another (cf. p. 313), so that the individuals concerned in such a repetitive marriage would not count as formal tama and latu to one another (cf. next Section). Their marriage would thus conform to the basic preference for marriage between "strangers", of the kind represented by 64 percent of the total marriages investigated.

Possibly 50 percent of these marriages between "strangers" were when they were contracted reciprocal or duplicate marriages; i.e. there already existed at that time one marriage between members of the two subclans concerned, usually in the generation preceding that of the parties to the new marriage. When in such cases the earlier marriage ceased to exist, they later became the means of reviving the formal affinal relationship between the two subclans. Thus it may be said that reciprocal and duplicate marriages in the generation succeeding that of the marriage duplicated or reciprocated are preferable to such marriages in the same generation, in as much as where two generations are concerned the reciprocal or duplicate marriage tends to become a replacement marriage when, upon the termination of the marriage in the first generation, the affinal relation established between the two subclans

by it ceases to exist; the second marriage then becomes the only affinal link between the two subclans. Where both marriages are between members of the same generation, however, the second will not have this potential advantage, for it will tend to be coterminous with the first. Bearing in mind these considerations, together with those already discussed concerning the advantages of reciprocal as against duplicate marriages (esp. pp. 312-313), the order of preference for marriages between individuals who are already affinally related where their subclans are of equivalent rank may be summarised as being :-

First, reciprocal marriage between members of the generation succeeding that of the earlier marriage - i.e. between affinal tabu.

Second, reciprocal marriage between members of the same generation as that of the earlier marriage - i.e. between formal yawa, "brother's wife's brother" and "sister's husband's sister".

Third, duplicate marriage between members of the generation succeeding that of the earlier marriage - i.e. formal tama and latu.

Fourth, duplicate marriage between members of the same generation as that of the earlier marriage - i.e. between affinal tuwa and bwada, brother's wife's sister and sister's husband's brother.

It will of course be understood that this is an order of relative, not absolute, preference; in particular instances circumstances may result in another form of marriage being preferred in fact to that on the list. In the case of the marriages of Chiefs and their successors, indeed, the third preference on the list given is in certain respects preferred to the first, as we have seen. It may also be repeated here that the "ideal" marriage, the one that offers most advantages, potentially at least, both economic and others, is that between formal "strangers", in the sense of members of

subclans between which, whatever may have been their relationship in the past, no marriage is in existence when the further marriage is contemplated. It will be realised also that in the majority of marriages, that is those other than the marriages of Chiefs, headmen and their probable heirs and of other locally important persons, personal considerations, that is e.g. personal attachments to one rather than another potential spouse, or preference for one rather than another potential lubou tend to be as important as, if not more important than, political or major economic considerations in influencing the choice of a spouse. It is generally only the marriages of Chiefs and other local leaders and their heirs designate that are politically and economically of importance at the time of their being negotiated and contracted, so that considerations affecting the disposal of the human and material resources of the subclans concerned are of decisive significance at this stage. Mostother marriages are relatively unimportant at the early stage, but the longer a marriage lasts and the more senior become the husband and wife's brother in their subclans, the greater its importance tends to become.

No reference has been made in this discussion of preferred marriages to incest taboos, since these are not regarded as determinants of marriage preferences as elements of systematic kinship relations. It is of course possible that the taboo between own father and daughter may in individual cases reinforce social disapproval of marriage with an own mother's brother's daughter, if the sense of repugnance arouse by sexual intercourse between own father and daughter is extended by processes of psychological identifications of the individuals concerned in the formal father-daughter relation with those

in the personal. But that this, in so far as it may occur, is not structurally significant is apparent in a number of considerations already remarked; that sexual intercourse between formal as against personal fathers and daughters is not reprobated, and that there is no rule of exogamy preventing the marriage of formal fathers and daughters as such; that the preference for marriages between other affines than formal fathers and daughters can be explained as one of a series of preferences relating to the efficient and expedient utilisation of human and other "resources" for social purposes, and not as conditioned by incest taboos between personal kin; and that the formal father-daughter and other affinal relationships are not permanent, but lapse with the marriages that establish and maintain them, so that the formal preference lapses also when individuals cease to count as formal affinal tabu and tama and latu to one another, whereas the lapsing of formal relationships does not also terminate personal ones. Thus upon divorce or the death of the wife, the formal relation between father and daughter may be terminated, but the incest taboo between them does not disappear at the same time.

Section 5. Systematic Extensions and Changes of Formal Usages.

As was shown in Chapter II, Section 4, personal relationships between individuals, once established, continue to colour their formal relationships as kin, no matter how the latter may change with the passage of time. As just noted, the incest taboo between own father and daughter does not disappear if, upon the dissolution of his marriage, the father ceases to count formally as such in relation to the daughter. Similarly, where a marriage takes place between members of the daughter's generation of the two

subclans while that of the father still exists, the consequent changes in the formal relationships between the father and daughter as members of their total subclan do not affect their personal relationships, i.e. their attitudes towards one another as individual personalities, although of course their social relationships and interaction may be affected to some degree. Appropriate changes take place in the terms used when such changes in status relations occur, of course; but where a close personal relationship, as between own father and daughter, exists, the appropriate term, in this case tama or latu, may still be used in its personal sense between the individuals concerned.

Thus if e.g. a man marries his affinal tabu, father's formal sister's daughter (father's female kada), she becomes his kwava, her "brothers", previously his tama, become his lubou, her "sisters", previously his tabu also, become his affinal tuwa and bwada, her mothers and mothers' brothers, previously his tabu and tama, become his yawa. Similarly the man's sister becomes ivata to his wife and her sisters, affinal tuwa or bwada to their brothers, and yawa to their mothers and mothers' brothers, including the personal father, in virtue of the brother's marriage. But as long as their personal father's marriage lasts, his children and the other members of their subclan will continue to count formally as their father's latu etc. in respect of their father's marriage. That is, in formal interaction with members of their father's subclan arising from his marriage, they will continue to reckon themselves and the members of his subclan as formal latu and tama or tabu etc., but in interaction arising from the son's marriage the formal relationships and usages will be those arising from his marriage. This means in effect

that the son and his subclan contemporaries will tend to interact with their contemporaries in his wife's subclan as lubou, affinal tuwa and bwada etc in virtue of his marriage, but with members of the father's and the preceding generation of the same subclan in virtue of the father's marriage, as tama and tabu, lubou etc., while the members of the father's generation in both subclans continue to interact as lubou, ivata and affinal tuwa and bwada with one another so long as his marriage lasts.

Logical Extensions of Usages.

It must be noted here that the kinship terms are capable of being extended logically, as it were, to relationships which have of themselves little if any formal significance, particularly those with affines of affines. The use of the term ina of the wives of formal fathers, i.e. of men of the subclans of Ego's formal fathers, affords an example (usage 14, pp. 296 ff). No direct formal relation, involving reciprocal roles of specific kinds, exists between the subclans of such affinal ina as such and that of Ego, and as far as individuals are concerned, any reciprocal relationships that may develop between Ego and such affinal "mothers" derives from the relationship through the formal fathers or husbands. But since the spouses of subclan ina are termed tama, the spouses of other formal tama are also termed ina in virtue of the analogy between their relationship with Ego's tama and that of his subclan ina with their husbands. Further, as we saw above p. 298, the other terms used within the subclan may also be extended to appropriately related members of the subclan of such affinal ina, so that their brothers may be termed kada, their children tuwa, bwada or luta, etc. Where no direct affinal relation exists between their subclans and that of Ego, the use of such terms may be

regarded as appropriate to the nature of their interaction as members of a village playgroup with each other and with the adults of the village. Residents of a village are normally drawn into the formal or ceremonial activities of some of its members even though they may not themselves be directly involved in virtue of the formal relationships of their own subclans. In such situations, children participating by virtue of co-residence may be socially identified for the occasion with those who are immediately concerned, and termed formally latu, "child", by the adults.

Where however a direct affinal relationship exists between the members of such an affinal ina's subclan and that of Ego, as may well be the case, in addition to the indirect relation through the "father", the direct relation determines Ego's formal status in interaction in which his own and the "mother's" subclan are immediately concerned, although in other situations, especially those of informal interaction, he may tend to refer to, and think of, his village "mothers" and "brothers and sisters" personally in the same general way as of his personal mother and siblings. On the whole, however, as we saw at the beginning of the Chapter, in day to day interaction individuals are referred to personally by their proper names, both in address and reference, although even after their status relations have changed adults may speak jocularly or sentimentally of their childhood playmates and friends as "tuwa or bwada," "sibling of same sex", but never as "luta", "sibling of opposite sex", since the use of this term always evokes the feelings associated with the respect relation between subclan luta.

As noted above, if by another reckoning a direct affinal relation exists between subclans whose members also have an indirect relation as affinal ina

("father's brother's" wife) and latu etc. the direct rather than the indirect affinal relationship determines their formal status relations and the terms they use in formal interaction. Similarly, if as adults Ego or a member of his subclan marries a member of such an affinal ina's subclan, the new direct affinal relationship establishes their formal reciprocal roles and the terms they use of each other. Such marriages may not infrequently follow close personal attachments between playmates; but they cannot normally occur of course if both Ego's and the affinal ina's subclans are of the same clan. On the other hand if this is the case, the terms appropriate to the indirect affinal relationship are the same as those of the direct relation by clan kinship, so that Ego and the members of the affinal mother's subclan will participate in formal situations as ina, kada, tuwa and bwada etc., but in virtue of their clan kinship, not their indirect affinal, relationships.

In the absence of a direct relation of affinal or clan kinship between their subclans, then, Ego may extend the usages of subclan kinship systematically to the members of the subclans of the wives of his formal fathers on the basis of the social identification of the status of such "fathers' wives" with that of his "mother" in his own subclan. It is the absence of specific roles between the members of his own and those of such affinal "mothers'" subclans that makes this possible, since there is no need to use terms referring to specific reciprocal affinal relationships. Similar extensions of subclan usages occur in connection with other relationships than that with the formal father's wife; the term tabu may be systematically extended to all members of the subclans of the spouses of all affinal tabu, while Diagram 5 of the Appendix shows how in consequence of the formal kada

relationship, involving the social identification of sisters' sons and mothers' brothers, Ego may extend the terms tama, ina, luta etc. to members of any generation of the subclans of a variety of affines. But if such extension of terms on the basis of analogy is possible because of the absence of formally significant reciprocal roles between the members of the subclans concerned in virtue of these relationships, the use of a term of subclan kinship in reference to an affinal relationship which does involve members of Ego's subclan in reciprocal formal roles is not accompanied by the potentiality of the logical extension of other subclan usages. Thus the use of the term ina of mother's brother's wife, discussed pp. 300 ff., is not accompanied by the use of the terms kada, tuwa or bwada, luta etc. toward other members of her subclan on the analogy with the relation with subclan ina; her children are formally Ego's latu, not his "brother or sister", and her brother his yawa, not his kada.

These special usages are conditioned by the direct affinal relation between Ego's and the kada's wife's total subclans, which establishes specific reciprocal rights and obligations between them in virtue of which the statuses of other members of the affines' subclan are formally opposed to those of the members of Ego's subclan in relation to himself, even though in virtue of his relation with the mother's brother the status of the latter's wife is socially identified with that of Ego's subclan mothers in relation to himself. It may be said in other words that the relationships between indirect affines do not involve their subclans in formal affinal interaction with each other as total social units, but that the interaction with such indirect affines is such as to permit their social and terminological

identification with members of one anothers' subclans as though they were pseudo-kin (kakaveva), members of other subclans of the same clan; indeed, we have seen that Ego's indirect affines may well be members of his own clan in fact, though his direct affines in principle cannot be. Such identification is appropriate to the relation and interaction of indirect affines as the direct affines of a third party, but is of little formal significance in their relationships with one another apart from this, and is conditional upon the absence of a direct relationship between their total subclans as affines or clan kin, while as has been shown direct relations of either kind supercede indirect affinal ones as determinants of formal kinship relations and usages.

"Order of Precedence" of Affinal Relationships.

In a similar way Ego's status relations as determined by his own marriage or those of other members of his generation over-ride those deriving from the marriages of members of other generations of his subclan as determinants of his roles and the terms appropriate to them, when a member of Ego's generation marries a member of the subclan of the spouse of a member of another generation of his subclan. In such a case the structural relation between the total subclans, assuming them to be of equivalent rank, remains the same as we have seen (esp. pp. 318 ff.), but the formal relationships of Ego's generation of his subclan with that of his contemporaries in e.g. the father's subclan and with the generation of the father also in so far as its members are formally concerned in Ego's contemporary marriage, changes, and the terms used also change as we saw on pp. 325-326. Thus where through the father's marriage the status relations of the members of Ego's generation in his own

and his father's subclan were analogous to the relation between the latent passive modes of two units of communication in the structural concept, when a member of Ego's subclan and generation marries a member of the contemporary generation of the father's subclan their status relations become analogous to the relation between active modes of two units of communication, and the structural significance of the latter overrides that of the former relationship as expressed in formal roles and usages.

Other marriages of Ego or his contemporaries with direct affines of their subclan have similar effects. Thus if he or a "sibling" marries a member of a mother's mother's husband's or of brother's wife's subclan, the spouse and his or her kin are no longer Ego's affinal tabu, but become formally his kwava, lubou, affinal tuwa or bwada etc. as appropriate. In fact, in view of the frequency of marriages between members of owning subclans within the village cluster (Chapter I Part 2, Section 2c), what was at the time of Ego's birth the subclan of a mother's father or of a mother's mother's brother's wife may well have become that of a formal father (mother's husband) or mother's brother's wife, by the time Ego is old enough to marry, through the marriage of a member of the first ascending generation of Ego's subclan to a member of the corresponding generation of the other subclan. In such a case the usages appropriate to the status relations set up between Ego and members of the other subclan by the later marriage will have superseded those appropriate to the former by the time members of Ego's generation of the two subclans are in turn old enough to marry.

There is thus as it were an order of precedence between affinal relationships through different generations of Ego's subclan as determinants of Ego's

status relations with and the usages formally appropriate towards members of other subclans. Ego's own affinal relations through the spouse thus supersede all others, together with those through the marriages of his contemporaries within his subclan; it will be recalled that reciprocal or duplicate marriages within this generation have no effects terminologically upon the status relations of the members of the two subclans. Ego's lubou, etc. remain lubou whether his marriage is duplicated by that of one of his "brothers" with a woman of the same subclan as Ego's wife, or whether it is reciprocated, by the marriage of a subclan "sister" of Ego with a subclan "brother" of his wife. But whereas the structural relation between subclans and the formal status relations of their members are not affected by second marriages between them in a single generation, the formal roles of the members in respect of reciprocal gift and service exchanges are modified by such marriages.

Whether Ego's subclan gives a wife to, or receives one from, another subclan or both in his generation, the affinal relationships set up by the marriage contracts concerned supersede as determinants of the status relations and usages any marriages already existing between members of other generations of the two subclans, so far as Ego and his contemporaries are concerned. But changes in usages and relationships accompanying the establishing of marriages in Ego's generation relate not to the structural or formal relation between the total subclans, which remains the same whatever the generation through which the affinal relationship is established, but to the roles of Ego and his generation as affected by the marriage contracts in which the same structural relationship is expressed anew. We may thus say

that the ultimate referents in establishing Ego's and his contemporaries formal affinal relationships and usages are the marriage contracts entered into by them on behalf of their total subclans; but before and after these are established or lapse, the effective referents in Ego's and his contemporaries status relations and use of the kinship terms are the marriages of other generations of the subclan, especially the two proximal.

It is possible, in view of the effects of reciprocal and duplicate marriages, for Ego to stand in two or more formal affinal relationships towards members of a single subclan at the same time. Thus by marriages of members of successive generations of his own subclan to members of another, the affinal subclan might count at the same time as that of e.g. Ego's formal mother's husband, his formal brother's wife and his formal sister's son's wife, or daughter's husband. In such a situation Ego's formal interaction with members of each generation of the subclan concerned deriving from the affinal relation between the subclans in that generation tends to be conducted upon the basis of the appropriate marriage, and the usages and relations between the subclans as determined by that marriage. But since Ego's main part in such affinal relations is associated with the marriage between the subclans in his own generation, it is this marriage that dominates his general relationships with members of the other subclan, and determines the usages he employs towards them in most contexts of formal interaction and in informal situations, in so far as formal relationships may be relevant in such situations. (Cf. pp. 326-328).

Should Ego's marriage end through the death of his wife, the formal affinal relationship between his and her subclans established by his marriage

terminates also, and, after the transitional period of mourning during which he is termed tovaleta (formal mourner) by the members of her subclan, he and they become strangers (tomakava) to one another, unless there already exists another marriage between members of the two subclans. In this case, this marriage supercedes Ego's as the determinant of his formal relationships with the members of the dead wife's subclan, so that, if members of the next generation of the two subclans had married before the death of Ego's spouse, or should they marry thereafter, Ego with the other members of his generation of his subclan would be counted formally as yawa to their erstwhile formal lubou, latu, tabu etc. Nevertheless in view of the persistence of their personal relations, Ego's personal latu (children) would continue to regard his as their "father" in the personal sense, and to use the term tama of him personally at least in situations other than those arising immediately from the new marriage, should they be personally involved in these. Moreover during the coexistence of marriages between members of proximal generations of the two subclans, a personal father's children continue to term him tama in most situations, even though they term all other males of his generation and subclan yawa, partly because of the personal relationship, but also because of course his status relation with them as their mother's husband is not terminated when a member of their generation marries a member of the corresponding generation of the father's subclan. Similar considerations apply to the use of other kinship terms in the personal sense where the formal status relations change.

Effect of Rank.

Differential rank again affects changes in terminological usages as it

does other aspects of affinal relations. Thus the children of a Chief and their subclan contemporaries tend to continue to regard themselves as formally his latu even though one of their number marries a member of the corresponding generation of the Chief's subclan. In formal interaction in connection with this marriage, e.g. in harvest gift presentations in respect of the marriage of one of their "brothers" with a sister's daughter of the Chief, they will term her "brothers" lubou, her sisters tuwa and bwada, and the Chief himself and other members of his generation yawa etc., as they would were his subclan of the same rank as their own. But whereas if this were so this marriage would tend to dominate the affinal interaction of members of Ego's generation of the two subclans in general as well as in particular reference to this marriage, those of the Chief tend to dominate the formal relationships of the members of all generations of his and his wives' subclans, and usages conditioned by them tend to be employed in all interaction.

Formal kinship usages are thus subject to systematic changes conditioned by the changing affinal relationships that provide the formal framework of interaction between total subclans and their members. The way in which the marriages of members of two subclans supersede each other as determinants of their formal relationships is, like the system of related statuses to which the kinship terms and formal roles refer, sufficiently definitive to meet the basic requirements of regularity and predictability in the interaction of members of kingroups and, in as much as these are associated with localities, of local groups also. At the same time the interpretation of status relations and formal roles in social organisation, and of the terms that refer to them, is flexible enough to accommodate the variable factors of personal

relationships, as is seen in the contimued use of terms in reference to personal kin although the formal relationships of the individuals concerned change. This will be further discussed in the next Chapter.

Section 6. Summary and Conclusions - the Affinal Contract.

The primary aim of the present Chapter has been the analysis of the kinship terminology as it refers to a system of related formal statuses which provides the basis of regularity, contimuity and predictability in the interaction of members of the Trobriand population. The formal statuses of kinship are conceived as differentiated from and related to each other by the marriage contract; but it is not held that preferences for some kinds of marriage as against others either condition or are conditioned by the terminological grouping of different kinds of kin. Rather the kinship terms, the statuses they designate and marriage itself, as the social contract that is the basis of formal interaction, together with preferred marriages as an element in formal kinship relations, are all explained on the hypothesis that the formal kinship system can be interpreted as the expression in the idiom of biological sex and generation characteristics, and in the associated reproductive processes, of the human population of a conceptually discernible system of communication which can be held to account for the specific characteristics of the Trobriand as against other kinship systems.

From this viewpoint the matrilineal descent groups are conceived as total units of formal social interaction (cf. p. *190*), the sex and generation characteristics and relationships of their members as having meaning in the social system in as much as they express within the total units conceptually distinguishable statuses in interaction, and the formal usages of the kinship

terms as referring to the formal significances and statuses of the different sexes and generations as analogues of modes of communication from the point of view of the individual Ego. Marriages between individual members of subclans are in turn conceived as having the formal significance of bringing their total subclans as well as the individual members into formal relations of communication and interaction with each other. From this viewpoint the primary significance of the marriage contract is considered to be that it is on the one hand the referent in distinguishing the statuses of the sexes and generations in relation to Ego, and on the other the means of distinguishing subclans as total units and of bringing them into formal relations with each other; its significance as the basis of the unit of coresidence, the household, and that of reproduction, the elementary family, is conceived as secondary from the structural point of view.

As three levels of significance have been distinguished for the kinship terms and usages, so three levels of significance may be distinguished for the marriage contract. At the structural level marriage has already been explained as the analogue in systematic social relations and interaction of the relation of communication between units in the conceptual system of communication; that is, the structural significance of the marriage contract is that it establishes the formal relation of communication and interaction between total subclans as structural units of social organisation through the relation of individual affines as representatives of the total subclans. At the formal level of its significance the marriage contract involves the setting up of systematic relations of reciprocal interaction between representative members of different subclans by the giving of a woman of one

to be the wife of a man of another. As a result the wife's brother comes into a specific reciprocal relation with her husband, and in virtue of the structural and social unity of the subclan, this sets up a formal affinal relation of actual or potential reciprocal interaction between all members of both subclans, by reference to which their status relations with one another, as members of the same or of different subclans, are distinguished and established. Individual spouses and other members of their subclans directly concerned in their marriage contracts are held to represent their total subclans in their formal interaction with one another, as is apparent especially in ceremonial or ritual contexts such as harvest gift presentations or mortuary rites. Such interaction itself expresses and establishes symbolically the formal relations of interaction between the total subclans, while the marriage contract itself, and the human groupings based upon it, can be said also to symbolise and embody the affinal social contract between subclans as structural units of social organisation.

From the structural and formal viewpoint the function of the marriage contract as the basis of the household and the elementary family is considered to be secondary, since structurally the significance of the marriage contract is that it brings into a formal relation of reciprocal interaction the husband and the wife's brother as representatives of their subclans, and thus serves as an affinal contract of general significance in the social relations of the total subclans. That is the affinal contract is conceived structurally as the means of establishing relations between units of the social system which are also distinguished by reference to it. The fact that the same contract provides the basis of the elementary family as a social unit may be

regarded as incidental to the significance of kinship as this involves sex and generation membership and descent as the idiom in which the social contract is formulated, and in which the status relations of the population in terms of the social contract are distinguished and formulated.

At the level of personal significance the marriage contract and the human relationships established by it have the same basic psycho-biological meanings for Kiriwinans as they have for members of elementary families in other societies, however the social contract and marriage itself as a mechanism of social organisation may vary in its formulation. Thus the Trobriand marriage contract unites in a unique reciprocal relationship two individuals of opposite sex as partners in the economic and other activities and relationships connected with the establishing and maintenance of the elementary family and household, including the processes of rearing and educating any children born to the wife or adopted by the couple. At this level the Trobriand marriage contract has the function of regulating and stabilising for social purposes the psycho-biological relations of members of the elementary family group as the unit of reproduction and co-residence; but structurally this function is regarded as subordinate and incidental to that of regulating and organising the relations between formal units of communication and interaction. The characteristic features of the Trobriand system of kinship and marriage are held to be explicable in reference to the latter, primary, function, not to the former, and the special features of the affinal contract between total subclans are no more to be explained by reference to the psycho-biological content of elementary family relationships than are other characteristic features of the Trobriand kinship system.

Rather such features are held to be explicable in as much as the formal system of kinship and marriage relations can be conceived as the expression in terms of biological sex, generation and descent characteristics and relationships of the human population of the system of communication formulated as an explanatory logical construct.

That is, the elementary family as the psycho-biological unit of co-residence and reproduction has of itself no structural significance, as the concept of structure has been formulated here, any more than have the incest taboos, which are held to be elements of psycho-biological elementary family relationships. The structurally characteristic elements or principles of the formal kinship system may be summarised as follows :-

1. The structural and formal unity and indivisibility of the kingroup (subclan) based on the strictly matrilineal principle of formal descent.

2. The formal structural equivalence of the statuses of members of the same subclan, and the social equivalence of the members, in relation to members of other subclans.

3. The formulation of the marriage contract in such a way that :-

   a. Marriage within the subclan as the structural unit of formal kinship is impossible;

   b. The marriages of individual members of different subclans bring their total subclans into formal affinal relationships with each other, in as much as

   c. The reciprocal relations entered into by husband and wife's brother, wife and husband's sister (but not husband and wife) apply also, actually or potentially, to all other members of their respective

subclans (and, to some extent, clans);

d. The rights and obligations contracted are such that they can serve as the basis of long-term formal economic, political, jural and ritual relations between the total subclans concerned and, in as much as the subclans are identified with villages and garden lands, between local groups and their members also.

4. Status relations in the formal kinship system, which provide the basis of the categories designated by the formal usages of the kinship terms into which Ego can classify other individuals for purposes of formal interaction, are distinguished and established by reference, not to psycho-biological elementary family relationships as such, but to the formal affinal contract as it relates total subclans and their members to each other.

5. Differential rank, as a structural attribute of subclans, has the effect of selecting individual representatives of some subclans as foci of multiple marriage contracts, and the subclans themselves as foci of the affinal contractual relationships, of a number of other subclans. In as much as the subclans are associated with particular localities, the rank factor thus has the effect of focussing the formal affinal relations, both internal and external, of local groups upon particular subclans and villages; that is, it results in, and provides the means of, focussing political, economic, jural and ritual relationships, both within and between local groups, villages and village clusters.

It will be noted that reference to the localisation of subclans has twice been made above. This may be regarded as a structural element or principle of the formal kinship system; but the fact that members and groups

of the human population are associated with particular localities is regarded as a biological human characteristic of the same order of significance in terms of the formal kinship or social system as biological sex, age and descent. That is, all human populations have the characteristics of biological sexes, generations, descent lines and localisation in both space and time, and these characteristics are always of some structural significance, in the widest sense of the term, in their social relationships. But in terms of the present analysis, the specific structural significance attaching to localisation as to the other human characteristics varies in different societies, and in the Trobriand social system derives from, and must be explained conceptually in the same terms as, the formal kinship system. The structural concept of the system of communication and the formal kinship system as its analogue in the social system have been discussed with no more than incidental reference to localisation and local grouping in the present Chapter. This is of course because formal status relations in the Trobriand social system are phrased in terms of kingroup, not local group, membership; the relationships of members of local groups with each other are, as was said earlier (pp. 182-183) formulated systematically in terms of kinship, not vice versa.

In other words, we have been concerned in the analysis of the kinship system so far with the subclan as a formal unit of descent, rather than as a local descent group, and with the system of kinship and affinal status relations which can be discerned within and between such units. This system is conceived as having the social function or attribute of organising systematically the relationships of communication and interaction of the

population; but these human relationships are not the system, nor is it they. In the next Chapter we shall be concerned with the way in which the system works in the organisation of social interaction, and we shall see that there is a considerable amount of interaction that takes place on the basis of ad hoc arrangements, more or less governed by convention, and that the formal kinship system operates as it were most significantly from the structural point of view in long-term relationships, especially group as against individual relations. But it is always potentially, if not actually, the means of systematising the relationships of individuals also where appropriate, and the marriage contracts of individuals in particular always have potential significance at least as affinal contracts between kingroups. In discussing the way in which these operate in social organisation, we shall be considering relations between subclans as local descent groups, and between members of local descent groups, rather than the relations between units and statuses in either a conceptual system of communication, or a formal kinship system.

Chapter V.

Kinship and Social Organisation.

An attempt will be made in this Chapter to show how the formal kinship system, as conceptually explained and analysed in the preceding Chapters, serves to organise the social relationships of the Trobrianders. If the concepts used and the analysis based upon them have been adequately formulated it should now be possible to relate the formal kinship system to the data presented in Malinowski's works with a minimum of additional data, though further material, particularly statistical, will of course be presented where desirable and available; but no attempt will be made here to re-produce descriptive accounts already available in other writings on the Trobriands. Rather the aim will be to show in fairly general terms how kinship provides the means of systematising and organising social interaction in the processes of social control and in economic and political organisation, by examining from this viewpoint first marriage and then the groups, descent and local, relationships between the members of which are regulated and organised so far as necessary by reference to kinship and marriage. It is hoped then that a fairly adequate account and analysis of the Trobriand social system will be afforded by Malinowski's and the present work together.

The present Chapter will thus involve a resynthesis, in one sense, of what have been distinguished as the personal and the formal levels of kinship in the preceding analysis, from which should emerge an account of Trobriand social organisation defined (cf p. 176) as the characteristic patternings of social behaviour of the Trobriand population, resulting from their interaction in terms of the formal status relations of the kinship system. Not all

interaction needs to be formally conducted, but wherever the Trobrianders do find it necessary or advantageous to systematise their long-term or quasi-permanent social relationships they do so directly or indirectly in terms of formal kinship. The key mechanism of such systematisation is marriage as a social contract between representatives of subclans as structural population units. Personal relationships between individuals, as members of households or local groups, provide an adequate basis for much of normal day-to-day interaction; but where important long-term economic and political relations are concerned, even clan kinship may be felt to provide an inadequate basis, as we shall see, and clan kinsmen may be counted formally as affines of a Chief, being attached for this purpose usually to his senior wife. Similarly in the relationships between distant villages and village clusters on the main or neighbouring Islands of the Trobriand group, while the Kula could provide an adequate basis for recurrent short-term interaction, long term political and economic relations were established by marriages between Chiefs of the dominant and women of the less powerful groups.

Like members of most other small groups however the Kiriwinan tends to carry on his daily life for the most part in terms of personal relationships, and to organise his routine domestic affairs and activities within the village on the basis of his friendships rather than his formal kinship relations as such. These underly and inform such routine activities, but are normally apparent and dominant on special rather than routine occasions; e.g. at mortuary and urigubu ceremonials, in communal economic enterprises of many kinds, and in emergencies such as disputes affecting the collective status of the corporate subclans. Thus while the formal basis of the social

interaction of the Trobrianders is their status relations as kin or affines, much of their routine interaction is informal.

Section 1. Marriages as Mechanisms of Social Organisation (Cf. esp. Cap. I Part II sec. 2c, Cap. IV Usage 9, and Malinowski 1935 I Cap. VI Sec. 2).

In practice the informal or personal significance of marriage relationships tends in much of daily life to overshadow their structural significance as contractual relations in terms of which are organised the relationships of corporate groups and their members. In a sense this structural significance tends to be latent or potential rather than actual in most marriages at a given point in time, but in those of Chiefs, other leaders and to some extent their heirs designate the structural tends to dominate over the personal aspects of their marriages. As was indicated in the summary of Cap. I, Part II, the reciprocal formal interactions of most people, as represented in their urigubu transactions, tend to be concentrated within the village cluster, the members of which tend to intermarry more readily than to marry outsiders. There is thus in practice much overlapping and duplication in the affinal relationships as between subclans within the cluster, so that normally no great importance, economic or political, attaches to any particular marriage of an ordinary commoner, although the cumulative effect of commoner marriages is economically and politically significant, as will be further discussed later. It is therefore no contradiction of the structural significance of the institution of marriage that in such individual marriages, which are of course the majority, the initiative in instigating negotiations should be left to the young people concerned, as Malinowski showed (1).

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(1) V. esp. 1929, Cap. IV, Sec. 2, and 1935, I, p. 203.

Marriage Negotiations - Commoners.

What Malinowski did not adequately emphasise is that the fathers, in negotiating their children's marriages, act on behalf of their wives' brothers, whom they must consult as representatives of their corporate subclans should there be any doubt as to the desirability of the proposed marriage from their viewpoint. Should they fail to do so, or in general to safeguard the interests of the wife's brother in the matter, they may be threatened with withholding of urigubu by the wife's brother, i.e. in effect with divorce from their wives. Often the marriages of junior commoners are not so important as to require much consultation with mother's brothers, still less direct intervention by them, fathers being left to conduct negotiations themselves, since they can be trusted to safeguard the personal interests of their children out of affection and those of their corporate subclans out of respect for their own. Their ability to influence their children's marriage derives partly from the personal relation between them, partly from their role as negotiators, and partly from the tacit or explicit support of the children's corporate subclans. When Malinowski wrote (2) that a girl's "family" or "people" prevented her from marrying Ulo Kadala, saying to him "We do not want you, we shall not give her any food", her father may have been in accord with the pronouncement, but it is clearly an ultimatum from the girl's maternal kinsmen collectively, and if the father had offered to garden for her instead they would probably have refused to continue gardening for him. The reason for the refusal was the character of the young man; such considerations are

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(2) 1929, pp. 74-75.

the decisive factors in influencing the attitudes of kin to proposed marriages when the economic or political interests of the corporate groups are not immediately engaged.

As was indicated above, pp. 278-279, neither the individual nor his corporate subclan derives appreciable material advantage from the urigubu received in most marriages, especially at their inception. Its value to the recipient is rather its significance as a symbol of the validity of his marriage and of the consequent change in his personal status; similarly its value to the subclan is as a symbol of its relations with the wife's corporate subclan. So long as husband and wife's brother remain junior and uninfluential members of their subclans however the affinal relation between then tends also to remain unimportant in the interaction of their corporate subclans. Moreover since, as we saw pp. 73-76, the urigubu transactions and the relationships they represent tend to be strongly concentrated within the village cluster, with a consequent overlapping and duplication of affinal relations between subclans, the affinal relations of junior members of subclans tend to be overshadowed in importance by those of the seniors, and it is relatively rare for the junior marriages to represent the only possible formal "channels of interaction" in the corporate relationships of any two subclans. Considerable latitude can thus be allowed young people in choosing their spouses without much effect one way or another on the interests of their corporate subclans; but they are none the less dependent upon the consent of their subclan kin.

Malinowski adequately stressed a girl's dependence on her maternal kinsmen for urigubu as a means of controlling her marriage, but greatly

exaggerated the independence of boys when he wrote (3) "A man is almost entirely independent in regard to matrimony, and his marriage, which will be a matter of constant and considerable effort and worry to his wife's family, will continue to lie completely outside the sphere of his own people's concerns". Not only is a man's marriage of increasing significance to his corporate subclan as he becomes more senior; but the subclan can oppose or guide his choice effectively not only through the mother's brother's relation with the boy as his heir, but also through his father as indicated already, and through the proposed wife's subclan. The knowledge that a young man's subclan kin are opposed to a proposed marriage is enough in itself to make the girl's father and mother's brother question his eligibility, and if as is usually the case some affinal relationship already exists between the subclans pressure can be brought to bear on the girl's or her father's kin to support the boy's in opposing their marriage. The consent of representative members of both the girl's and the boy's subclans is in fact symbolised in the gifts exchanged by the fathers at the inception of a marriage, as described by Malinowski (4). One mother's brother at least contributes to and shares in these exchanges, which are carried out by the father as part of his obligations to his wife's brother.

Marriage Negotiations - Chiefs.

The marriages of active Chiefs and village leaders of lower rank always have immediate structural importance, even before their inception, and

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(3) Ibid., p. 72.

(4) Ibid., p. 76.

certainly after it, in as much as the bridegrooms are the leaders and senior representatives of their respective corporate subclans and the villages or village clusters with which they are associated. Thus the subclans and villages of the Omarakana cluster are all affected as corporate groups by the marriages of their own leading men and in particular by those of the Tabalu Chief, who in olden times appears always to have consulted them at least informally about his proposed marriages, and in particularly important cases to have summoned a formal council (kayaku - 5) to consider them. In 1950, despite restriction of his powers by the presence of the Australian Administration, Mitakata was at pains to ascertain the reactions of village leaders in the cluster to his proposed marriage to the young daughter of the local Village Constable, negotiations for which were instigated by the girl's father, whose position will be examined more fully in Section 6.

The later marriages of the heirs designate of Chiefs and other leaders also have political significance at the outset, and tend to be regarded as much as public as private matters. Their first marriages however, which are usually contracted before their positions as heirs are assured, tend to be "love matches" like those of junior commoners. This according to Malinowski was the case in the first marriages of both To'uluwa and Mitakata; but it may be noted that both their first wives, Kadamwasila and Orayayse, were members of the Kwoynama subclan, the greatest rivals, and hence the most desirable affinal allies, of the Tabalu. It is not unlikely that this consideration made the girls additionally desirable as wives to aspirant

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(5) Cf. Malinowski 1935 II Index s.v.

Chiefs (6). The first marriage of Vanoi, the next in line to Mitakata, does not follow this pattern however, and can be regarded as certainly a love match, is as much as far from making a politically desirable match he married a woman of his own clan, thus incurring the anger of Mitakata.

The later marriages of designated heirs, like those of active Chiefs and headmen, have economic and political importance from their inception and are normally negotiated and contracted primarily as links in the relationships between corporate groups. Their significance from this viewpoint tends to dominate their domestic and personal aspects from the outset, whereas normally this comes about in the marriages of others only in so far as they and their wives' brothers achieve prominence in local affairs. Special circumstances may however result in the marriages of even junior commoners having such significance at the outset, or at least being regarded as though they had. Thus junior members of commoner subclans may be required by their elders to marry regardless of their personal inclinations in order to set up a desired relation between their corporate subclans; conversely a proposed marriage may be opposed as being against the interests of the subclans, e.g. if a boy wishes to marry a girl although it is felt that too many men of his subclan are already married to women of the girl's. Infant or child betrothals (7) may also be resorted to in the interests of corporate groups, but only if the desired relationship is not urgently necessary; they may often result simply from the wishes of friends to foster and cement their personal

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(6) 1929 pp. 10-13, 96, 113-114.

(7) Cf. Malinowski 1929 esp. Cap. IV, Secs. 4 - 6.

relationships by marrying their own or their sisters' children to one another. Such betrothals are not however very efficient as structural elements in corporate group relations, for although every effort be made to induce the children to accept one another as future spouses as they grow up the result cannot be guaranteed except when the marriage is so important that their personal wishes are ignored, when the matter would be too urgent for infant betrothal anyway. Most people thus have a relatively wide range of choice of spouse within limits dictated by the interests of their corporate subclans, and their marriages tend to become important in their kin and local groups' affairs in so far as they become more senior and influential themselves.

Divorce and the Stability of Marriages (8).

For a few years after their inception most Kiriwinan marriages tend to be relatively unstable and divorce easy. Accurate comparative information about divorce rates at this and later stages of marriage are not easily obtained, for, although no moral stigma attaches to divorce as such, people tend to be reticent about such matters out of amour propre in Malinowski's phrase. Except in the case of well known informants therefore their statements can not be accepted without checking, and this is difficult since the range of information available about the marital histories of people other than close kin tends to be limited, so far as their early marriages at least are concerned. This in itself indicates that not much importance, other than to the individuals concerned, attaches to most early marriages. It seems probable however that at least 25 percent of men and perhaps more

(8) Cf. Malinowski 1929 Cap. VI, Sec. 1.

of women have had at least one marriage terminated by divorce, and that most of these divorces occurred in the first four or five years of marriage. Perhaps five percent of men and women had had more than one marriage thus ended, and two or three individuals were notorious divorcés, one being my cookboy who married his seventh wife shortly before entering my employment. His vagueness about the kinship relations centering upon his early marriages was undoubtedly partly the result of embarrassment at the reputation resulting from his six divorces by the age of about thirty, but he also seemed genuinely unable to recall details of the earlier ones, which he appeared to regard more as regularised trial relationships than as "real" marriages. This in turn may have been in part a defensive forgetfulness in his particular case, but it may also reflect a more general attitude to early marriages, the first few years of which, until they give evidence of having attained a minimal degree of actual stability, may be regarded as in a sense a probationary period. It may be noted in this connection that the terms tovavaygila and navavaygila, "married man or woman", are more often used of older couples than of young people who, though married, are usually referred to as "totubovau" or "natubovau", "grown up boy or girl" (9). It is as though the individuals concerned had to give evidence of their serious intent and stability in fulfilling their reciprocal duties before the community at large takes their marriage seriously as an element in the social relationships of the corporate groups affected by it.

Effects of Birth of Children.

The birth of the first child to the couple may be taken as evidence of

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(9) Ibid., pp. 51.

stability, but by no means guarantees it; for while it may strengthen the emotional bonds between the couple, it may also weaken them, e.g. if the father sees in the child a rival for his wife's attentions. But it marks no stage of development in the formal affinal contract between the corporate groups. In accordance with the formal rule of descent and associated dogma of conception the sexual rights covered by the marriage contract are concerned with indulgence in the sexual act itself, not with the reproductive capacities of either spouse. The wife has no duty to bear children to her husband, or he to beget them to her; there is no conception of sterility or of voluntary childlessness as grounds for divorce. On the other hand the birth of a child does affect the formal affinal relation in so far as it emphasises the wife's and her brothers' need to retain the husband's services, by even greater assiduity in fulfilling their part of the contract, as social <u>pater</u> of the child as well as guardian, on her brothers' behalf, of the mother.

Accurate data are even more difficult to obtain about birth rates etc. than about divorce, for the former are regarded as outside the sphere of men's interests and knowledge, as indeed they appear often to be in fact, despite their normally strong interests in their living children. Because I was a man few women took my initial tentative enquiries seriously, and when they did they became embarrassed and reluctant to discuss what they regarded as their one really exclusive province. Only a few old women, regarded by themselves and others as sexually "neutral", as it were, because of their age, were at all prepared to discuss such matters freely, and the very factor which enabled them to do so rendered their memories and the information I

received unreliable. But taking such information as I was able to collect from women together with genealogical evidence it appears fairly certain that about 10 percent at least of all women bear no children (at least none that survive long enough to be counted as individuals), and most other women do not bear their first child until the third or fourth year of marriage. Some childless women were known to be congenitally sterile, but in the majority of cases I was assured that childlessness or delayed first birth was voluntary, most young married couples preferring to remain unencumbered by children for some time after marriage. Sometimes, it was held, a couple would put off having children until it was discovered one day that the woman was past child bearing, because they preferred to "play with each other like adolescents" rather than to start a family. (The implications of this in regard to the question of knowledge of reproduction will be apparent. Techniques of abortion are well known, as white residents concerned with medical work are only too well aware, and techniques of inducing temporary sterility are firmly believed by the native men at least to be known to and practised by the women).

According to informants couples finding themselves in this position "would become anxious lest they should be left in their old age without children of their own (i.e. whom they personally had brought up) to care for them. So they would go, usually to a junior subclan kinswoman of the wife, and solicit (nigada - 10) a child to make (bring up as) their own". It seems further that, unfortunately for such improvident couples, while about 10 percent of women are childless, a similar proportion bear relatively large

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(10) V. Malinowski 1935, I, pp. 372-373.

families - 4 or 5 as against the average of something under two children per household (cf. pp. 21-22) - and that such women are not averse to having the burden of domesticity lightened by harding over a child in response to such a solicitation. Adoption is further discussed later, however (pp. 372 ff); what is relevant here is that the childlessness of a couple has no effect upon the contractual relation between their corporate subclans established by their marriage. Under some circumstances, e.g. if her subclan includes too few babies or children to ensure its future population, a childless woman may incur public disapproval. If her childlessness is not held to be her own fault - e.g. if it is interpreted as the result of sorcery by an enemy of her subclan - she is not likely to be penalised for it; if however it is held to be her own fault she may be publicly reprobated particularly by a mother or sister, and her brothers may refuse to garden for her; but her offence is against her own corporate kingroup, not against that of her husband in terms of the formal marriage contract (11).

The rearing and upbringing of children may be regarded thus as an incidental function, rather than the basic purpose, of marriage as a structural mechanism of social organisation, although it may still be considered a primary function of the domestic unit established by the marriage contract as it organises the relations between corporate groups. From this viewpoint the birth of the first child is significant as a symptom, rather than a cause, of the increasing stability of the domestic unit established by the contract, but the stability of the contractual relation between the corporate groups is neither contingent upon nor ensured by the birth of

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(11) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, p. 170.

children, or their adoption, to the individuals concerned, nor is divorce rendered technically more difficult thereby. Moreover the birth of children is probably less effective in reinforcing the emotional relationship between parents than it tends to be in some societies, e.g. in middle class western European marriages. It has been suggested (pp. 142-143) that there are grounds for the view that Kiriwinan children tend to be less intensely dependent upon their individual parents than is the case in e.g. middle class, English families; certainly the question of the effect of divorce upon the children is much less of a problem for the Kiriwinan. The status of the child as a member of its mother's subclan is not affected, while children are frequently transferred, or transfer themselves, from household to household more or less permanently within a fairly wide range (cf. pp. 372 ff.). The children's future is thus never a material problem, nor normally is it an emotional one; if special circumstances make it so, special steps are taken.

Since there is no question of the genitor relationship entering into the formal definition of social paternity, any man who qualifies as a legitimate husband of a given woman is equally suitable as the pater of her children. Nevertheless it is recognised that socially the best father for a child is the man who was married to the mother at the time of its birth, since he is likely to have a closer personal interest in the child than any other if he is sincerely attached to its mother, and it is realised also that in some cases it may not be in the best interests of the child to remove it from such an "own" father's care in the event of a divorce. There are no jural or other formal grounds upon which the father can claim the child, and normally it goes with its mother when she leaves its father, and may be left

by her in the care of a maternal kinswoman for the time being; but if it is felt in a particular case that it would be bad for a child to separate it from its father it may be left temporarily with him until it can safely be taken away. Thus in a case that occurred late in 1950, a six year old boy, the second of three children, refused to accompany his mother when she left her husband. The usual negotiations followed, and it was finally decided that the couple should divorce, the terms upon which outstanding claims on either side under the marriage contract should be settled being agreed upon after some discussion. The question of the future of the boy arose after the conclusion of the divorce; neither his particularly close relationship with the father, nor the emotional attachments between parents and children in general, were referred to during the negotiations as factors to be considered in deciding the issue of whether or not the divorce should take place. After the divorce, however, the boy's mother, claiming that she was particularly attached to the child, began to agitate for his return to her; her real motive, according to some informants, was however personal spite, the father's attachment to the boy offering her the opportunity to hurt the father. She enlisted the support of some of her subclan kin partly by playing on their sympathy, partly by suggesting that if her son remained with his father while he married another woman and received <u>urigubu</u> from her brothers, the boy might become emotionally attached to these "strangers" and when he grew up refuse to take up his place with his own subclan kin.

It was argued by the father however and by some of the woman's own kin, including the brother who had gardened for her, that the child's formal status as a member of his subclan could not be affected by his remaining with

the father, and that it might be to his personal advantage in future, and ultimately to that of his subclan, if he became personally attached to members of the subclan of any future wife of the father and they to him. By such an attachment the boy would acquire another group of "own" personal kin, who because of their shared personal interest in the boy might also be drawn to members of his natal subclan to their advantage. The strongest argument however was that the boy's own wishes should be consulted, not only in principle, it being held that a child's wishes, though it is less well aware of or informed about the social consequences of their fulfilment, are no less deserving of consideration than those of an adult; but also for practical reasons, since to force the boy to leave his father might turn him against the persons responsible and thus in the long run "lose" him to their subclan more effectively than to let him stay with the father while still retaining his status in and personal contacts with members of the subclan (cf. discussion of incorporation and integration, pp. 112-113, 167). It was accordingly decided that the child should remain with his father for the time being, the father agreeing to continue an arrangement existing before the divorce whereby he gardened for the eldest daughter of his wife on behalf of his wife's brother and his son, the boy in question.

In this case the question of the attachment between father and son arose not as a matter affecting the issue of whether the divorce should take place or not, but as a consequence of the divorce to be considered and settled in its own rights, as it were. The significant question in deciding the issue of whether the marriage should be ended or not was whether the corporate groups concerned could afford its termination, economically and politically,

or whether it was sufficiently important in these respects to warrant its maintenance despite the personal inclinations of the husband and wife concerned. The issues were not of course discussed in such general terms by the parties; their arguments centred upon the range and importance of outstanding commitments between the husband, wife's brother, and other individuals concerned, possible consequences of the severance of the connection between the villages of the husband and the wife's brother and similar factors on the one hand, and the extent of the personal antipathies between husband and wife on the other. In the event divorce was agreed upon because it was not felt of overriding importance that the marriage should be maintained; although both husband and wife's brother were fairly senior in age in their subclans and localities, neither were in fact locally eminent men, and it was felt in effect that the inter-group contractual aspect of their marriage was not so important as to over-ride the inter-personal. This is the case with most new or recent marriages and with many of longer standing; and in such cases divorce is, as Malinowski showed, technically easy, notwithstanding there being children of the marriage (12).

Effects of the Structural Significance of Affinal Contracts.

It may be said then that in so far as marriages derive their stability from the personal relationships of the individuals concerned, they tend on the whole to increase in stability as time passes, but that divorce remains relatively easy so far as its technical aspect is concerned. What makes marriages more stable in the sense of increasing the difficulty of divorce

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(12) 1929, p. 124.

is their increasing importance as structural elements in the organisation of social relationships between corporate groups; where this is great divorce tends to be difficult and hence marriages stable despite the vagaries of the emotional relations of spouses. Notwithstanding the presence of Government and Mission representatives whose help she might in theory seek it is still easier for a Chief's unhappy wife to commit ceremonial suicide (lou - 13) than to divorce him against her subclan's wish. On the other hand a polygamist's wife's right to seek sexual and emotional satisfaction outside her marriage is tacitly recognised, provided she neither arouses her husband's personal jealousy nor behaves so indiscreetly that he cannot ignore the affair without losing prestige (14). In 1950 a young wife of the Chief of a Northern Kiriwinan village cluster had an affair while her husband was away visiting Tuma Island. It was connived at, as is usual, by her co-wives at the time, but one of them out of jealousy informed the husband on his return, and the girl ran away partly from fear, partly because she wanted to marry her lover. In olden days she would probably either have killed herself or have been killed; as it was she came to Tilakaiwa seeking refuge with a classificatory father, and her arrival caused some alarm, for her husband had a reputation outside the range of his effective economic and political power as a warrior and a sorcerer. Apart from this however everyone joined with the girl's own kin in urging her to return to her husband because hers was one of the owning subclans of his village cluster and could not afford to allow

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(13) Cf. Malinowski 1929, index s.v.

(14) Ibid., pp. 117-119, 385.

her to divorce him. The girl feared that if she sought and obtained a divorce through Government or Mission intervention her own kin might disown her, and finally had to go back.

The structural aspect of the affinal relation may also result in the breaking up of some marriages without reference to the wishes of the spouses (15). The case of the girl just referred to, or of another wife of the same Chief (my own informants in Tilakaiwa were not certain as to which girl it was, and I could not very well inquire into the matter openly among the closer kin of the Chief and girls concerned who were not well known to me), affords an example. Whichever of the two girls it was, she had apparently been happily married to a man of her own choosing when, or soon after, a formal mother of hers married to the Chief in question died. It then became necessary for her subclan kinsmen to find another wife for the Chief in order to renew their alliance with him, and after the period of mourning occasioned by the first wife's death (she died fairly young) they offered the Chief his choice of three or four unmarried "sisters" of the girl in question. He however demanded the girl who was already married, having presumably fallen in love with her, and refused any other bride. After much argument and delay, her kinsmen reluctantly agreed, and forced the girl to divorce her husband by refusing to garden for them any more. After further prolonged persuasion and coercion she eventually married the Chief, though much against her will, but left him temporarily more than once though eventually she had to return to him each time.

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(15) Ibid, cf. p. 123.

It will be apparent from the foregoing discussion that as factors in stabilising marriages the personal content of the marriage relationship, in which is included the emotional factors in elementary family relations as well as the economic and other material satisfactions derived by the individual from his or her married life, and its structural significance in organising the social relationships of corporate groups are independent variables, as the personal and formal aspects of kinship relations in general have been said to be independently variable. Where an individual marriage is empirically of little structural importance in corporate group relations, its stability is largely a function of the personal relationships of the individuals concerned, including husband's sister and wife's brother as well as husband and wife, in so far as their formal relationships involve them in dyadic interaction with one another. Where as in the case of Chiefs the structural aspect is paramount, it over-rides the personal, both in bringing about some and preventing other new marriages, and in maintaining some and terminating other existing marriages, with minimal reference to the personal relationships of the individuals concerned.

Stability of the Institution of Marriage.

The stability of the characteristically Trobriand institution of marriage however, as against that of individual marriages, is specifically a function of the structural significance of the marriage contract in Trobriand social organisation. That is, the form of the Trobriand marriage contract and the nature of the relationships established in reference to it between individuals and groups derive from the significance of the relationship in social organisation and can be expected to persist so long as marriage as a social

institution continues to have this significance. Factors entering into social organisation from contact with European cultures may, as we shall see in Section 6, tend to alter the significance of marriage as an element in social organisation, and in so far as such alteration affects the structural significance of marriage it affects also its structural stability as an institution, diminishing it unless it changes its bases. It is to be noted that reinforcement of the personal aspect of marriage, e.g. by introducing the notion that divorce in itself is morally wrong, may to some extent balance a weakening of stability of individual marriages resulting from diminished structural importance of the relationship, but is not to be assumed to restore the structural stability of the institution itself, even in an altered form.

It may be said then that it is ultimately the structural importance of the individual marriage that determines the ease or difficulty with which it may be terminated in divorce, and in this sense is the stabilising factor. This structural importance tends to vary according to the seniority, rank and importance of the individuals concerned in particular marriages and is greatest in those of highranking Chiefs who are leaders in village cluster affairs. It is apparent in the relative range and complexity of existing reciprocal exchange relationships of goods and services between individuals and groups centering upon a particular marriage, the relative difficulty of readjusting such relationships upon its termination by divorce, and simply in the extent of popular concern at the prospect of its termination. The presence or absence of children is of no particular relevance in these connections, except in so far as when present they may complicate the

readjustment of personal as against social relationships, and tend to extend the reciprocal obligations between the parties to the marriage. The relative structural importance of marriages also affects and may be detected in the social reaction to their termination by death. The mortuary rites following the deaths of Chiefs or their wives are much more prolonged and complex than those occasioned by the death of a married commoner; although the same basic pattern is observed in both cases, the greater number and complexity of the exchanges in the former case reflects the greater range and complexity of the inter-group contractual relationships terminated symbolically in the rites. The exchanges following the death of an unmarried adult are less extensive and prolonged, and there will be no affines to mourn formally for him, while those following the deaths of infants or aged widows and widowers are exiguous, and may not follow the normal pattern, since such deaths are regarded as matters of private interest to the personal kin affected, not as of public interest in the affairs of corporate groups (16 - v. also Section 4 later).

Conflict, Friction and Rivalry in Affinal Relationships.

The foregoing discussions indicate the potentiality of conflict between the formal and personal aspects of marriage as of other kinship relations (cf. pp. 153-158). The personal may be subordinated to the formal aspect where a marriage is of relatively greater structural significance, while it may dominate the latter where a marriage is of relatively lesser importance in corporate group relationships. In the majority of marriages however both aspects tend to be in adjustment, the interests of the corporate groups

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(16) Cf. Malinwoski 1929, Cap. VI Secs. 2-4, and esp. p. 127.

concerned coinciding with or embracing those of the individuals, so that e.g. it is not usually necessary to enforce either marriage or divorce against the wishes of the individuals concerned in the political or other interests of their corporate subclans. Thus for example the personal advantages a woman derives from becoming the wife of a Chief tend to balance any reluctance she may feel at being a party to a politically motivated marriage. Or a husband's personal interest in his wife and children normally reinforces and is reinforced by his formal obligations to act as their guardian and the representative of the wife's brother; if, as was noted on page 157, the father cannot for instance further his child's interests by passing on his achieved power and wealth to his son as his heir, he can nevertheless do so by using his position as husband to influence his wife's brother to favour the child as the wife's brother's heir. Normally, then, there is or should be little conflict between the individual's personal motivations and his duties and obligations as a member and representative of his corporate subclan, other than that which is inevitable in the process of adjusting the expression of personality to the requirements of social living.

A degree of friction is of course inherent in dyadic interaction between individuals of differing personalities and interests, and this enters into the personal aspect of Kiriwinan as of any other marriage; but what is characteristic of the Kiriwinan marriage contract is that it involves not only husband and wife but also husband and wife's brother in a relationship in which clashes of their temperaments and personalities may affect the affinal relationships of their respective corporate groups. Moreover the requirements of their reciprocal roles as formal representatives of their

corporate groups may lead to rivalry between them in these capacities. To be precise, rivalry tends to develop in the relations of corporate groups as these are established by the affinal contract, and to be focussed in the relationships and interaction of the male representatives of the subclans. In as much as these are the husband on the one hand and the man who gardens for the wife, often but not always her formal brother, on the other, such rivalry tends to focus on the lubou rather than other affinal relationships, though it may appear in all - even that between fathers and sons, when a son assumes the responsibility of gardening on behalf of his mother's brother for his father (cf. Section 2).

In practice open rivalry tends to appear in the relationships between affines of political importance in their communities; the relationships of most commoner lubou appear to be harmonious, husband and wife's brother tending to associate with one another in cooperative enterprises of many kinds. Indeed one of the advantages of gardening for a sister is according to the native that by so doing a man obtains a "friend" and "helper" in her husband. But this view in effect suggests the possibility of rivalry, and an under-current of mutual distrust and latent hostility can often be detected beneath the apparent harmony of the relations between lubou. The Trobriander, as has been noted by others besides Malinowski, reckons all his relationships in terms of "give and take", and one of his main interests in his relationships appears to be to get as much and give as little advantage as he can under the rules of the game, while like most of us he is not averse to cheating a little if he feels he can carry it off. The lubou relationship offers above all others the best opportunity of indulging this proclivity, especially since,

to pursue the metaphor, any cheating indulged in by the players of the affinal "game" can be justified as being in the interests of the subclan, so long of course as it is not carried so far as to incur a penalty.

It should be noted that the potentialities of conflict, friction and rivalry are not held to be inherent in the formal status relations of lubou in particular or of affines in general as such. As already analysed the relation between the formal statuses of affines is held to be one of complementary opposition, and conceptually statuses are not capable of conflict or of any other form of interaction, which is a characteristic of people who have the status relations in reference to one another. That is, the potentiality of conflict, friction or rivalry arises when the statuses are put into operation, as it were, in the interaction of the population, and is regarded therefore as inherent in social process, not in the formal kinship or social system, still less in the conceptual explanation of the formal system as here developed; i.e. in the relation between elements of the structural system of communication. Conflict, friction, rivalry and other elements in the social process may be conceived as elements corresponding to the element of opposition in formal status relations, while their opposites, cooperation and identity of interest for instance, may be regarded as counterparts of the element of social equivalence, or of the complementary aspect of opposed statuses; and as both aspects were held to be present in all the formal status relations of kinship, so both conflict, friction or rivalry and their opposites may be present in interaction in terms of all these status relations. Because of the characteristics of the formal kinship system, however, in particular the significance of the marriage contract as the

structural mechanism of social organisation, the lubou relationship above all others tends to become the focus of rivalry and competition since it is primarily through the relationships of lubou as the representatives of corporate local descent groups that the political relations of the latter are conducted. At the same time there is always the possibility of friction, resulting from clashes of temperament and personality, in any dyadic relationships, whether of lubou or of spouses, and there is also always the possibility of conflict between the requirements of their formal roles as representatives of their corporate groups and their personal desires and motivations as individuals. These factors also enter of course into the relationships of the same group; within the corporate local descent group, the internal organisation of which will now be considered, rivalry tends to characterise the relationships of senior and junior members, more especially those of men rather than women.

Section 2. The Internal Organisation of the Corporate Subclan.

As a structural unit of social organisation a subclan may be said to consist in a number of persons recognised by birth as members of a single matrilineal exogamous group which has corporate rights in property, in particular land, in the privileges and prestige of a given rank, and in its own members. The population of such a subclan is divided into a series of categories, designated by the kinship terms, based on statuses which are distinguished in reference to marriage contracts as these establish the collective relations of the members of the subclan with members of other like units, and which provide the basis of the internal organisation of the relationships of the members of each. That is, considering the subclan as a

unit, the internal relationships of its members are organised by their kinship relations with one another as these relate to their collective affinal relationships with members of other subclans.

In a passage to which reference has already been made Malinowski (17), quoting a native statement that "The kinsmen rejoice, for their bodies become stronger when one of their sisters or nieces has plenty of children", commented "The wording of this statement expresses the interesting conception of collective clan unity, of the members being not only of the same flesh, but almost forming one body". But although he referred in the same context to his discussions of mortuary rites and exogamy, the rest of his writings indicate that he viewed this "collective unity" as no more than an "interesting conception", whereas in the present analysis the unity, or corporate nature, of the matrilineal descent group is held to be fundamental to all aspects of Trobriand social organisation. The unity of the clan, to which Malinowski referred the native statement quoted, could indeed be described as conceptual rather than actual, in as much as clan kinship relations are of ritual and symbolic significance rather than of any other; but the unity of the subclan, as the land and rank owning group, is of very much more than only ritual or conceptual significance to the natives. The members' rights in the subclan's corporate resources of all kinds are in a very real sense corporate, as is illustrated in the case of its human resources, or members, by the practices and frequencies of adoption.

Adoptions by Subclan Kin.

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(17) 1929, p. 170.

Malinowski, discussing the problem of "fatherless children", wrote that illegitimate children are frequently adopted amongst the Trobrianders, but he appears to have thought that apart from illegitimacy adoption hardly occurs (18). Defining adoption as the more or less permanent transference of children from one household to another, figures obtained in census and genealogy taking in the Omarakana village cluster, and presented in Tables 11 and 12 of the Appendix, indicate that at least 83, or 46 percent, of 176 children recorded were adopted in this sense. "Children" in this context include persons of both sexes who are dependent members of households, whose ages range up to and include that at which marriage usually occurs, but who are not yet married. 68, or 81.6 percent, of these 83 children were adopted by members of their own subclans; only 15, or 18.4 percent, were adopted by affines, including own or personal father's subclan kin. It will be noted from Table 11 that in the cases of adoption by members of the same subclan 52 or 76.5 percent of the children were transferred from households within the Omarakana village cluster to households in other clusters, while in the cases of adoption by affines 9 or 60 percent of the total of 15 cases involved transferences of children between households within the Omarakana cluster, 8 of these 9 cases being between households in the same village. Thus adoptions by subclan kin of the adopted children involved transfers of children between village clusters in the majority of cases, whereas the majority of adoptions by affinal kin took place within the village cluster. Subclan kin thus adopted 37 children into the cluster, but only 15, less than half as many, out

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(18) 1929, p. 167; cf. 1927, pp. 21-22.

of it; affinal kin adopted two children into the cluster and four, or twice as many, out of it. Furthermore 39 girls and 29 boys were adopted by subclan kin; but the 15 children adopted by affines were all boys.

Commenting on the adoption of "prenuptial" children, Malinowski also wrote (18) that "the elasticity of kinship terms makes it very difficult to distinguish between actual and adopted children". Difficulty arose in my enquiry, not because of "elasticity" of meaning of the terms, but only if the precise nature of the enquiry were not made clear in the form of the question. Thus if the question were phrased in such a form as "Is So-and-so the 'true' or 'own' child of So-and-so" (latula mokwita .....), the distinction suggested to the Kiriwinan is that between children reared and those not reared by the person concerned, not between children born to and those adopted by him or her as such, for as was indicated in Chapter II the "own" or "true" child is to the Kiriwinan that reared by a married couple whether born to the wife or adopted by them. But if the nature of the enquiry is made explicit by phrasing it in such a form as "Was so-and-so conceived and born (i valulu i yunai) by So-and-so or given (saiki) to her by someone else", as accurate an answer as the informant's knowledge of the individuals concerned permits is readily given. A young woman can always distinguish between the young children she has born and those she has adopted; but old women who have adopted some children and given away others whom they bore may not always recall precisely whether a particular individual was born to or adopted by them, while many adults are uncertain whether their "own" or personal mothers bore or adopted them. But it was normally possible to ascertain in most cases whether contemporary children were born or adopted, and no particular

emotional reaction was provoked by the enquiry. No stigma at all appears to attach to adoption, still less is it held to suggest that the individual adopted was illegitimate, as would be the case if only such individuals were normally adopted. The only reaction to the enquiry appeared in fact to be surprise and puzzlement that I should be interested in a question which to the natives seemed to be of little or no importance.

The figures presented in the tables indicate that there is in fact a remarkable degree of "circulation" of children, on the one hand amongst households of members of the same subclan located in different village clusters, and on the other between households of members of different subclans located in the same cluster. (It may be noted that I recorded no cases of adoption between clan kin as such as against subclan kin). In as much as transferences of children tend to be initiated by the adults rather than by the children concerned, the children may be said to be "communicated" from one household to another, and their elders to "give" the children to one another, as the Kiriwinans themselves phrase it. Thus where in Table 11 a child is shown as adopted by e.g. its mother's elder sister, or it's mother's brother, it would be said that the younger sister "gave" a child to her elder sister (tuwa), or that a woman "gave" a child to her brother (luta) and his wife (ivata) and so forth. In a population sample as small as that dealt with here, differences in the numbers of boys and girls thus "given" between different categories of kin may well be affected greatly by chance, and it is not proposed therefore to attempt to draw specific conclusions from the figures in detail. It may however be observed that, as might be expected, children are most frequently adopted by members of the first

ascending generation (ina and kada within the subclan and tama and Tabu among affines); that is their mothers most frequently "give" children to members of the generation of their mothers (tabu). It may be noted also that twice as many girls as boys are given by their mothers to the latters' sisters, whereas almost the same numbers of children of each sex are given to other subclan kin. The most striking feature of adoptions within the subclan is however the much higher frequency of cases that involve transferences of children from one village cluster to another, than of cases of transference between households within the same cluster; within the cluster also adoptions involving removal from one village to another are three times as frequent as those between households in the same village.

Individual motives for adoption seem to fall into two categories; rather less than half result from the termination of marriages by death or divorce, an example of the latter having been discussed above pp. 359-362, where it was noted that women can easily leave children with their maternal kinswomen in either case, should they be unable or unwilling to continue to provide for them themselves (19). Similarly orphaned children are automatically taken into the households of their kinswomen, usually but by no means always that of an own or personal sister or mother of the deceased mother, while boys, but not girls, are sometimes similarly adopted by a dead father's own brother. In such cases the adoptive parents usually volunteer to take the children, but the duty of some member or other of the subclan to take care of them is explicitly recognised, and if no volunteers are forthcoming the children's mother's brothers will take action to see that some member of the subclan

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(19) Cf. Malinowski, 1929, p. 125.

takes charge of them. The second category of motives may be said to derive from the collective rights and obligations of members of the subclan to distribute their children amongst themselves to the best advantage. This type of motive is illustrated in the discussion on pp. 356-358, which may be summarised as showing that childless members of a subclan have the right to ask for children from those who have, and that those who have too many have the right to ask those who have few or none to take charge of some of their children for them.

Whatever the motives of the individuals concerned, however, the transference of children between members of the subclan both expresses and reinforces their solidarity; and the very high rate of transferences between members resident in different village clusters or villages within the same cluster as against those between members resident in the same cluster or village within the cluster suggest that this expression and reinforcement of subclan solidarity occurs precisely where it may be least developed by other factors, i.e. between spatially separated members of the same subclan. From this viewpoint the adoption of one anothers' children may be said to be structurally a form of "communication" between members of the same subclan which helps to offset their spatial separation as residents in different local groups as a factor tending to diminish their solidarity, and hence the significance of the total subclan as a structural unit of social organisation. It should be noted that the relatives by whom the children are adopted, as shown in Table 11, include both own or personal and classificatory or formal kin of the children and their biological parents; in the majority of cases it was not possible to ascertain accurately whether the child was in fact

adopted by a personal or a formal kinsman or woman of the category concerned. As an approximation it seems that adoptions by classificatory kin are as frequent as by own kin of the original parents of the child; but as we have seen "own" kin in the biological sense are not necessarily also own kin in the social or personal sense, since the child's original parents may have been themselves adopted.

Adoptions by Affines.

Adoptions by affines present a different picture from those by subclan kin. In the first place only boys are "given" to affines, and in the second other aspects reverse the distribution of adopted children among subclan kin. Thus most affinal adoptions occur within the same village of residence, and twice as many children are brought into the cluster as are sent out of it in adoptions by affines. Again, while as might be expected the greatest number of such adoptions are by "fathers" (tama) and "fathers' sisters" (affinal tabu), there is only one adoption by an affinal "mother" (ina), and this was a special case, the woman concerned being the senior wife of Mitakata who at the Chief's request was given a son by one of her junior cowives, because she had none of her own. By contrast, 37 or over 50 percent of the children adopted by subclan kin were given to "mothers" (ina). The motives for adoptions by affines also differ from those affecting adoptions by subclan kin, in as much as there can be no question of their constituting a de facto redistribution of their children among the members of the subclan concerned. It will be noted that the majority of affinal adoptions are by tama (formal fathers) or tabu (fathers' sisters); that is, in these cases the children are adopted by their mothers' brothers' lubou (sisters' husbands' brothers)

or their mothers' ivata (husbands' sisters). (In cases of adoption by mothers' brothers examination of the kinship diagrams will remind us that their wives stand in the relation of ivata to the children's mothers and of ina to the children, while when a child is adopted by a mother's sister her husband stands in the relation of lubou to the original mother's brother and of tama to the child.) These "gifts" of children between affines may thus be interpreted structurally as reinforcing and expressing the individual lubou and ivata formal relationships, in the same way as the urigubu presentations reinforce and express the collective formal affinal relationship.

The initiative in adoptions of all kinds is usually taken by the child's original parents and the individuals to whom it is transferred; but the consent, tacit at least, of the mothers' brothers and others concerned is necessary, in the sense that they can object if they consider a particular adoption undesirable. In adoptions by affines a child's father may initiate the adoption, e.g. at his brother's request, out of a desire to "help" his brother as his subclan kinsman; but he cannot act without the consent of his wife and his lubou, who as the representative of his subclan must agree to the transfer of the child and may seek a specific return, to the subclan's advantage, for the favour conferred. As we saw p. 360, the mother's brother may himself support an adoption by an affine or even, as in the case discussed, an ex-affine, if he feels it in the subclan's interests. Thus adoption as between affines may be interpreted structurally as a means of reinforcing the affinal relationships primarily between members of the same local group; that is it helps to integrate "strangers" into the corporate local groups, while as between subclan kin adoption helps to integrate into the corporate

subclan members who are territorially separated and to this extent are less well integrated than those who live together in the same corporate local group or cluster. The discussion of subclan distribution in Cap. I Part II showed that empirically the majority of members of a subclan reside in the same village cluster so that they are in practice in almost daily contact with one another; and exchanges of children, which in fact occur not infrequently between them and their subclan kin who as residents in other clusters tend to be more closely integrated in some respects into their corporate local groups, help to reinforce their solidarity as members of the same subclan.

In a small percentage of cases of apparently permanent transference of residence between households the initiative appears to be taken by the children themselves. Malinowski (20) has commented more than once on the relative independence of the Trobriand children and the freedom with which they will go and stay for relatively prolonged periods in one anothers' homes. Such visits in some cases develop into permanent residence, but if so one adult in the household in which the child takes up residence is usually subclan kin to the child's own parents who agree in effect to the arrangement, so that in time they come to regard themselves as having "given" the child to its adoptive parents even though in fact it may have gone to them of its own volition, e.g. because of unhappy conditions in its original home. It is not possible therefore to say in what proportion of the cases the initiative in adoption is in fact taken by the adults concerned and in what proportion

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(20) E. g. 1929 pp. 44-46, 1927 p. 68.

by the children, but the latter cases probably amount to less than 10 percent. In other cases however no effective means exist of forcing a child to go to live with a couple if it is not willing to do so, and as in the case already referred to the adults recognise the children's right to a voice in deciding their own fates. It must be borne in mind in this connection also that as has been pointed out residents in the same village cluster are normally in more or less continuous effective contact with one another, so that older children living in one village are more or less familiar with the residents in others in the cluster, and movement between households of the cluster is thus possible without entailing ventures into unknown territory or groups.

The figures on adoptions thus illustrate the corporate nature of the subclan as manifested in its attitudes to children, members having the right to approach one another to obtain children if they have none themselves, and the obligation to take charge of one anothers' children when circumstances such as death or divorce render this necessary or desirable. But these collective rights and obligations are apparent also to some extent in the attitudes of members of local groups as such; it may be said that they tend to be manifested in adoptions as defined above only where spatial separation precludes daily contacts between members of corporate subclans. Within the village particularly and the village cluster also children can for example obtain food at the households of their subclan kin as a matter of course, and the communal character of village life results in older children being as often in the company of other adults as in that of their own mothers or mothers' brothers (cf. pp. 142 ff, 297 ff). There is in practice and in certain contexts in principle a collective attitude on the part of the adults

of a village as such towards its children, who are often referred to as the "young men and girls of the village"; but this attitude is conditioned and its significance limited by the knowledge that the youths and girls do not constitute the future population of the village, but will in time disperse, most of the girls going to live in their husbands' villages and the boys in those of their own subclans. The bonds developed between children as members of the same village playgroup affect their future personal relationships with one another (cf. pp. 327-328), but do not affect their formal status relations as adults, which derive from their membership of subclans, not of local groups as such.

As members of subclans children count as part of their future resources, and as the heirs of the adults, whose interests and rights in the children are in practice conditioned by this aspect of their relations, the rising generation will in due course take over the subclan's corporate rights and obligations in relation to other subclans, and become its formal representatives in affinal contracts in succession to their elders. When they thus become socially adult the girls will have the collective responsibility of as it were providing "channels of communication" between their brothers and husbands as representatives of their subclans, and at the same time of providing their brothers and themselves with successors and heirs. The latter aspect of their adult roles will explain the fact that girls are never adopted by affines, since to allow a girl to be adopted into a household whose members belong to other subclans than her own might compromise her latent formal status as an adult female, explained as the analogue of the transmissive mode of the unit of communication; and it would certainly entail

the risk of losing not only herself but also her children as effective members of her subclan, for girls as we have seen tend owing to the pattern of residence to be less well integrated personally into their corporate subclans than do boys, even when they are reared by their subclan kin (pp. 245-246). A boy, on the other hand, must take up his position as a formal member of his subclan, if not as a resident in its village, if he is to enjoy the full advantages of adult status; should he for any reason fail to do so his subclan loses only the one man, not his children, so that the risk involved in letting affines adopt boys is much less than it would be in the case of girls, and may be outweighed by the advantage of placing the adoptive parents under a stronger obligation to the members of the boy's subclan.

The Organisation of Ceremonial Gardening. Cf. Malinowski 1935 I, Cap. IV.

The organisation of ceremonial gardening, exemplified in the relative frequencies with which presentations are made to and received from kin of different categories, will illustrate the collective aspect of the subclan's relation to its material, as the adoptions of children illustrated it in relation to its human, resources. Table 13 in the Appendix shows the frequencies of presentations made to the different categories of kin by the householders of Omarakana village cluster, and table 14 the frequencies of presentations received by them from the different categories. In each table the left hand column gives the relationship of the donor to the recipient while the next two columns show, in table 13, the kinship terms used by the donor of the husband and wife to whom the presentation is made and in table 14 the terms used of the donor by the recipient husband and wife. In table 14 the frequencies of presentations are distinguished for the Chief and Other

householders, as was done in discussing the frequencies and spatial distribution of urigubu, but no such distinction is made in table 13, since so far as the presentations he makes are concerned the Chief counts as a private citizen. Table 7-10 as discussed in Part 2 Sec. 2 of Chapter I should be compared with the present tables and discussion, as should Malinowski's Document II, in Coral Gardens I, pp. 398-418.

Considering Table 13 first, it will be seen that of a total of 124 presentations of urigubu (i.e. regular annual ceremonial crops cultivated especially for and presented by one household head to another at the main harvest at the end of the Southeaster season) made by householders of Omarakana cluster, 81 or 65 percent, are presented in virtue of a relationship of subclan kinship and 41, or 33.6 percent, in virtue of an affinal relationship. The remaining two made by the Mission Teacher are by native standards anomalous, and will be discussed in examining his position in the next Chapter. Confining the present analysis to orthodox presentations, then, twice as many are made in virtue of subclan as of affinal kinship. Of the 65 gifts made to subclan kin, the largest proportion are to sisters (luta) and their husbands (lubou); these total 52, or 42.15 percent of the total of 124 presentations made. 13, or one third, of these presentations were definitely made to classificatory or formal sisters and their husbands, 9 to mothers' sisters' daughters, and 4 to sisters' daughters; perhaps one third of the 38 recorded as made to sisters are also in fact to classificatory kin of one kind or another, but it was not possible to ascertain the precise relationship in all cases, and where there was doubt the presentation has been counted as to "own" or personal kin. It will be recalled that in

discussing the relationships of the Lobwaita subclan in Chapter II it was seen that the fact of gardening for formal kin tends to make them "own" kin by native standards, and it must be borne in mind that the present tables deal with all resident householders of the cluster irrespective of actual subclan membership. In the case of members of "stranger", or non-owning, subclans it was not possible always to ascertain relationships with precision, since informants' statements could not be checked. These observations apply to all the figures given more or less, but as the differences in frequencies of presentations to formal and own kin apparent in tables 13a and 14a imply, the proportion of formal kin to whom presentations are made is considerably smaller in cases other than those to "sisters".

Thus the next largest group of presentations, those to elder brothers (tuwa) which number 13, or 10.0 percent of the total, were all except possibly two made to personal kin; all except possibly three of the presentations to sisters' daughters (kada), totalling 10 or 8.0 percent, were to personal kin, and most of those to mothers' brothers (kada) were to personal kin, as was that to a sister's daughter's daughter. In other words, appreciably more presentations are made between formal brothers and sisters than between formal kin in the other categories. Over half of all the presentations made, and about five eighths of all those made between subclan kin, are those between brothers and sisters, that is men and women of the same generation of the subclan. The next largest group, that of presentations to elder brothers, involves men of the same generation; the next, that of presentations to sisters' daughters, men of one and women of the first descending generations, the next, that of presentations to mothers' brothers, men of proximal

generations, and the solitary presentation to a sister's daughter's daughter involves a man of one and a girl of the second descending generation of the subclan. Roughly the same frequencies can be seen in table 14a, where presentations received by Others from wife's brothers (husband's lubou, wife's luta) correspond to those made to sisters and their husbands in table 13a, and so on. It will be recalled from previous discussion of urigubu presentations (pp. 73-76) that no one-to-one correspondence exists between figures of presentations given and received, since both include not only the internal presentations made within the cluster but also external presentations to and from residents of other clusters.

Statistically the numbers of presentations between different kinship categories are too small for detailed comparisons of relative frequencies to be significant, and for the same reason no attempt has been made to calculate coefficients, and the figures can only be compared in more general terms. Leaving for later consideration presentations made to the Chief, the details of the differences between frequencies of presentations made to the various categories of kin and those received from them are to a large extent to be attributed to factors of chance of the same order as those that affect the relative numbers of presentations received and given in total. These totals are roughly equal, but there is no reason why they should be exactly equivalent, since they are not made on a one-to-one basis; and the same applies to the individual frequencies under each category of kin. Broadly speaking therefore, and bearing in mind that the presentations listed under headings a and c in table 14 are all presentations between subclan kin, it will be seen that the two tables show much the same frequencies for the different

categories.

Presentations between Subclan Kin.

That the greater proportion of presentations should be from members of the wife's subclan to her and her husband is of course in line with and is explicable by reference to the structural significance of the formal urigubu presentations made by men to their sisters and their husbands, as already discussed in the preceding analysis. Similarly the preponderance of presentations to sisters (donor's luta) and their husbands (donor's lubou) is in accordance with the structural significance of the brother-sister-sister's husband relationship. But it will be recalled that of the 52 presentations made to luta and their husbands, one third are definitely and up to half are probably between formal as against personal kin of this category. This would be difficult to explain if the principle were that only "own" brothers should garden for the women, since the overall figures as discussed in Cap. I Part 1 and in the analysis of the Omarakana cluster population in Part 2 of that Chapter indicate that the sexes are more or less equal numerically in each generation; or at least that there is not so great a discrepancy between them in the total population sample that up to half the women have no "own" brothers to garden for them. In fact however the basic principle involved in the organisation of ceremonial gardening is that each woman when married must be gardened for by at least one man of her subclan; preferably he should be of the same generation, and ideally he should be an own or personal brother for reasons already discussed (cf. p. 150), but there is no rule that he must be. The advantage of having someone who is personally interested in a woman and her household to garden for her may be and often is outweighed by other

considerations, while as we have seen the fact of gardening for a woman gives a man a personal interest in her and her marriage whether or not they were brought up in the same elementary family.

Thus in the analysis of the relationships of members of the Lobwaita subclan pp. 101 ff. it was seen that there was a marked tendency for the men of the subclan to garden for women who lived in the same or neighbouring villages whether or not they were own kin to one another, while women who were own kin to the men were gardened for by other men resident in or near the women's villages of residence. Such practices amount to exchanges or re-allocations of gardening responsibilities among the men, and have the effect of increasing their efficiency not only as gardeners for the women and their husbands but also, perhaps more significantly, as supervisors of their marriages as formal contracts between the subclans, since such arrangements result in each man having as close contacts as may be desired with the husbands concerned. Within the village cluster such arrangements are usually made between the individuals concerned with little or no formality, but in cases where difficulty arises, e.g. through there being too few men available in the neighbourhood to garden conveniently for women of the subclan resident there, or because of protracted quarrels such as those discussed pp. 63 ff. which interrupt ceremonial gardening and associated relationships, the leaders of a subclan may intervene in the interests of the corporate group. They may also intervene in marriage negotiations if it is felt that the proposed marriage may raise difficulties e.g. by reduplicating existing gardening arrangements, as has been seen (pp. 349 ff).

Thus the responsibility of gardening for the women of a generation falls

collectively upon the men of their subclan, primarily those of their generation, but upon men of others also (21). If there are not enough men of the women's generation to garden for them, men of other generations will assume the responsibility; but even where there are enough under some conditions men of other generations normally garden for the women. Thus in table 13a, 11 or 8.85 percent of the total presentations, are made to sisters' daughters or daughters' daughters, the corresponding figures in table 14a being 9, or 7 percent, of presentations received from mothers' brothers and two from mothers' mothers' brothers by Others. In table 13b, 19, or 15.35 presentations are made to fathers, which means that they also are presentations to mothers, and in table 14a 22 or 16.75 percent of presentations received by Others are from wives' "sons". The majority of these presentations, at least two-thirds, are apparently to own or personal kin of the categories concerned, and result from two main considerations affecting the personal interests of the individuals. On the one hand it normally devolves upon the personal brothers, i.e. the men who garden for each married woman, to garden for his sister's daughter should the girl marry before a man of her own generation is available to garden for her. This is ultimately a collective responsibility upon the mothers' brothers and mothers' mothers' brothers; but by gardening for an own sister's daughter the mother's brother places her young brother under an obligation to himself. This, like giving plots of land as is discussed later, is one of the ways in which men secure personal heirs and adherents among the junior members of the subclan, and for this

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(21) Cf. Malinowski 1935, I, p. 189.

reason a mother's brother may supplement his sister's son's efforts by gardening for the latter's sister even if this is not strictly necessary.

Conversely, the duty of gardening for a man's sister and her husband when he becomes too old to do so himself, or after his death, devolves upon his personal heir primarily, and young men often undertake to supplement individual mothers' brothers efforts, even when this is not strictly necessary, as an act of pokala, which is discussed further later; briefly it is the system whereby a young man can by rendering a senior member of his subclan special gifts or services, as by gardening for his sister, obtain property or favours in return, including recognition as personal heir. On the other hand, by gardening for their personal mothers and fathers young men also fulfil their personal obligation for care and affection received in childhood; as we saw in discussing adoption it is largely in order to make sure that someone will be personally obliged to care for them in their old age that people seek to adopt children.

But the act of pokala may take the form of gardening for the mother's brother himself, as in 5 or 4 percent of presentations in table 13a and 5 or 3.75 percent of presentations in table 14c, while younger brothers may also pokala their older brothers, as in 13 or 10 percent of presentations in table 13a, and 15 or 11 percent of those in table 14c. By thus gardening or rendering other services or gifts young men may become the personal heirs of elder, as well as or instead of mothers' brothers, and the act of making or accepting pokala in itself makes the individuals personal kin to one another, as the act of gardening for a woman makes a man her personal brother, whether by other reckonings they count as own or classificatory kin. It is also

common for younger men who are inexperienced or older men who are inefficient gardeners to garden for mothers' or elder brothers in order that the more experienced and efficient gardeners should be able to devote more time and effort to the cultivation of crops for presentation to affines, especially to Chiefs. Thus in considering the Lobwaita subclan we saw that four men of different generations were gardening for Mitakata, while other men of the subclan were gardening for three of these men. Such practices, which will be reverted to later, demonstrate clearly the conscious organisation of the collective gardening strength of the subclan.

In table 14a are recorded 6 presentations received from wives' mothers. These are all made by the four widows who were discussed on p. 58, and are the products of their assumption of quasi-masculine roles, in virtue of which they have been permitted to retain or acquire independent households. It was also said that they had adopted some children; three of the presentations made are in fact to adopted daughters on behalf of adopted sons, and in gardening for their own married daughters the women are also acting on behalf of men of their subclans. In these and the other cases personal affection and other motivations such as ambition of course enter into and affect both the undertaking of commitments and the manner of discharging them by the individual; but the foregoing discussion indicates that whatever the motives governing the undertaking of a particular commitment by a given individual the fact that he does undertake commitments and fulfil them at all rests ultimately upon his responsibilities to the corporate subclan as much as to the individuals for whom he gardens. The existence of "standard" motivations and interpretations of gardening commitments as discussed above in itself

indicates that the responsibilities are ultimately collective, since within the same generation they can be seen to have the effect of adjusting individual responsibilities to the best advantage of the group, while men of other generations are regarded in principle and in practice when they garden for women of a given generation as doing so on behalf of the women's "brothers" because ultimately all the men share the responsibility of gardening and providing in other ways for women of any generation as members of the same corporate subclan. If necessary, the men of a subclan will meet and discuss collectively difficulties that may arise in fulfilling these commitments, but usually no such specific action is required since individual members are so strongly motivated to overcome them by cooperation in their own interests; and their ability to further these derives directly from their rights which depend upon discharge of their responsibilities, as members of the corporate subclan.

Presentations between Affinal Kin.

In as much as for the present purpose we are considering presentations as being made to husband and wife jointly by kin of the one or the other, any presentation by subclan kin of the one is also a presentation by affinal kin of the other. Thus it was noted that presentations to fathers in table 13b were at the same time presentations to mothers. Nevertheless the division into presentations in virtue of subclan as against those in virtue of affinal relationships reflects informants' statements, which in turn are conditioned by the viewpoint from which the particular gift is considered (22).

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(22) Cf. Malinwoski 1935 I p. 191.

Thus if a son is asked "Why do you garden for your mother and father" he may reply "Because of my mother" or "Mother's brother", if he is doing so primarily in order to fulfil his personal obligation or attachment to her and/ or as an act of pokala to her brother; or he may reply "Because of my father" if he does so primarily because of his personal relationship with him and/or as a substitute for or a successor to his mother's brother as his father's lubou. Whatever the motives in individual cases, however, the urigubu is always presented formally to the husband, and is stored in his yamstore, as Malinowski showed in Coral Gardens I Cap. VI Sec. 1, and as is further discussed later.

Thus all the presentations discussed so far can be regarded as made in one way or another in respect of lubou relationships; this is true of presentations made to as well as on behalf of senior members of the donor's subclan as pokala, in as much as in pokala the donor may be said socially to identify himself with the recipient in the latter's lubou relationships. Presentations made by fathers to their daughters and their husbands can also be said to be made in virtue of the lubou relation with the wife's brother. In table 13b 20 or 16.55 percent of all presentations are made to the donors' "daughters", most of them personal kin, and in table 14b 15 or 11 percent of presentation received by Others are from wife's fathers, again mostly personal kin of the recipients. Whatever his immediate motives for doing so, a father's gardening for his daughter may be regarded formally as a continuation of his duties as representative of her mother's brother, in virtue of which he negotiated and arranged her marriage. In gardening for her he deputises for his wife's brother and for his daughter's brother during

the latter's minority, and he may be asked to do so by his wife's brother. Since the performance of this service arises from the specific relationship with the wife and her brother, it is normally for their own or personal daughters that men garden, in the same way that they garden for their own or personal rather than for formal fathers. By gardening on their behalf for his daughter, a father increases his wife's brother's and her son's personal obligations to himself, and strengthens his own claims upon his son's personal care and affection in his old age (23).

The next largest group of presentations among affines is that of the 11 or 8.25 percent of the total received by Others in table 14d from formal sons, i.e. mother's brothers' or brothers' sons, of husbands. These presentations may be interpreted formally as made by the donors on behalf of their mothers' brothers to the latters' sisters' husbands or sisters' husbands' sons. That is the donor gardens for a formal father as a substitute for his own father as an act of pokala to his mother's brother, and as a fulfilment of his personal obligation to his own father, who may request his son to "help" him by gardening for someone to whom the father has an obligation, as a subclan kinsman or as an affine. Such substitutions explain also other presentations not already dealt with. Thus in table 14b the one presentation from a wife's mother's father is a case of the donor substituting for his daughter's brother on behalf of his mother's brother, the donor's lubou, who asked the donor to take on his son's commitment until he was able to fulfil it himself. Similarly the two presentations from wive's mother's brothers' wives were made by widows (not those already dealt with above, but

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(23) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I p. 205.

residents in other villages than those of the Omarakana cluster) on behalf of their dead husbands to the latters' sisters' daughters and their husbands. The one presentation from a husband's mother's brother in table 14c might have been better counted as being from the wife's father; it represents the harvest gift presented to Toginigini and his wife by her father who, it will be recalled, was Toginigini's formal mother's brother, and made the presentation rather as his father-in-law than as his mother's brother (cf. 114-116).

Presentations to the Chief. (24)

Comparing the presentations received by the Chief with those received by Others in table 14, it will be noted first that the Chief receives proportionately more of his urigubu from subclan kin of his wife - 81.5 percent as against 62 percent in the case of Others - while he receives nothing from his subclan kin whereas the Others receive 15.5 percent of their presentations from this source. On the other hand the Chief receives 17 percent of his presentations from his wife's affines as against the Others' 13.5 percent, and only 1.5 percent from affines of his subclan while Others receive 9 percent of their presentations from this source. In other words combining the sections of the table the Chief receives in all 98.5 percent of his urigubu from his wife's subclan kin and their affines, and only 1.5 percent from his own subclan kin or affines, while the Others receive 75.5 percent of their urigubu from wives' subclan and affinal kin and 24.5 percent from their own subclan and affinal kin. These differences are explained by the consideration that the great majority of the ceremonial presentations of the Others and

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(24) Cf. Malinwoski 1935 I pp. 191-192, 195 & esp. Document II, pp. 392 ff.

the formal relationships they symbolise tend to be concentrated within the Omarakana cluster, whereas those of the Chief mostly come from other clusters (cf. Table 9). This means that, as was seen in the last Section, the formal affinal relationships of the Others tend to be much duplicated as "channels of communication" between individual subclans, so that individually the majority of them are of relatively little structural significance in the formal relationships of the corporate kin and local groups. This in itself permits greater flexibility in the manipulation of these affinal relationships by the individuals concerned for more or less private reasons; hence the greater proportion of the affines and subclan kin who garden for ordinary householders do so partly out of affection, partly in order to enhance their prestige and influence as individuals by performing acts of pokala to their subclan seniors by gardening for them or their sisters' husbands or their children etc. It is in and through such relationships and the rights and claims accumulated through them that the efforts of young men of ambition tend to be crystallised; the more individuals a contender for succession to the Chief, for instance, can place under obligations to himself by pokala within the subclan and by undertaking important gardening commitments towards affines the more support he can claim from members of the village cluster against possible rivals.

On the other hand the marriages of the Chief tend to provide the only formal "channels of communication", especially as political alliances, between himself as the representative of his own village cluster and his wives' brothers as representatives of the leading local descent groups in other village clusters. They are thus always of great structural

significance, and of correspondingly lesser significance at the personal level as was seen also in the last Section. The Chief's position in his own village cluster, provided he is a "good" Chief in the sense of paying due regard to the rights and interests of his followers, is not that of an aspirant to power but of the man who has attained it, and his affinal relationships with village leaders within his cluster are less means of acquiring power within it than contractual relationships embodying his established power as the accepted leader and representative of the corporate local group concerned, although of course his intra-village cluster affinal relationships are also important in the process of maintaining his position within the cluster. On the other hand his affinal relationships with the leaders of other village clusters are entered into and maintained for political reasons, and individuals garden for him for political reasons also in virtue of these relationships, which in itself restricts the range of individuals who are regarded as eligible to garden for him. As already noted the most experienced and the best gardeners in the subclan are appointed to garden for its most important affines, and in so doing acquire much influence with their fellows; by the same token only close affines who are closely associated themselves with members of the subclan will be required or allowed to garden on behalf of its members for the Chief, lest the subclan should lose the political advantage of doing so; to garden for a Chief is a privilege, though onerous, and normally those who have the right to do so are jealous in its exercise.

Thus the figures show that proportionately more senior men of the subclans of the wives of the Chief garden for him than do so for Others. In table 14a 5 percent of his presentations come from mothers' mothers' brothers of his

wives, 25 percent from mothers' brothers, 6 percent from sons and 5 percent from sisters' sons, as against corresponding figures of 1.75 percent, 7.0 percent, 32 percent, 15 percent and 1.75 percent respectively from the kinsmen of the wives of Others. As was noted on p. 384, there is a tendency for more formal kin to undertake gardening responsibilities for women within a given generation than to garden for women of other generations of their subclan, reflecting the primary responsibility of men of the same generation to garden for the women and the tendency to allocate responsibilities among them in the interests of efficiency and expediency. In gardening for Chiefs the frequency of formal as against personal or own kin gardening for the wives is in all categories much higher, probably about 70 percent at least, since the senior and most efficient men are specifically chosen for the purpose irrespective of the closeness of their relationship with the wife.

Thus the four mothers' mothers' brothers in table 14a are all formal kin of the Chief's younger wives, and garden for him as the heads of their subclans, as do six of the mothers' brothers, who are formal kin of older wives, and two of the brothers, both of whom are heads of the subclans of the Chief's two oldest wives. There is a tendency also for men representing all the living generations of a wife's subclan to garden for the Chief; thus not only the headmen of the subclans of the younger wives do so, but also formal mothers' brothers and brothers of the young women. Similarly in the case of the oldest wives not only formal brothers but also formal sons garden for their husband, while the gardeners in the case of the intermediate wives include mothers' brothers, brothers and sons. Generally speaking if a wife's own or personal kinsman in the various categories is sufficiently

senior in personal status he will be chosen to garden for her, but others will do so as well whether or not he is regarded as suitably qualified, as is apparent in the fact that an average of six men, including a small proportion of wives' subclans' affines, garden for the Chief in respect of each of his wives, (table 7).

The only notable total of presentations to the Chief from wives' subclans' affines is that of 15.5 percent from wives' fathers, table 14b. Two thirds of the men concerned were own or personal kin of the wives, and all gardened formally for their husband in virtue of their relationships as lubou to the women's mothers' brothers or tama to their brothers, for one or the other of whom they were deputising. All these wives' fathers were men of some importance in their own local groups, though not of such importance as their wives' brothers to whom they were mostly inferior in rank. They were in fact supporters of the Chiefs' wives' subclan kinsmen as the leaders of their villages or village clusters, and in gardening for their daughters were both fulfilling obligations to the men of their subclans whose supporters they were politically, and achieving a degree of political eminence themselves. Three of these wives' fathers were headmen of subclans as the same clan of the Tabalu Chief, to whom they could not give wives without breaking the principle of clan exogamy, and their gardening for daughters was an alternative way of associating themselves with the Chief politically more definitively than they could do as his clan kinsmen. Similar motives underlay the presentation of a harvest gift from the elder sister's husband of one of the wives, and that from the Chief's formal mother's brother's son in table 14d.

Among the presentations from wives' subclan as well as affinal kin is

included a number of presentations from the members of the same clan as the Chief. These are from members of the Mailasi owning subclan of Yolawotu village, to whose formal attachment to the Chief's senior wife allusion was made in remarking that clan kinship tends to be regarded as an inadequate basis for structurally important political relationships such as that between the headman of an owning subclan of the same clan as the Chief in his village cluster. They are classed as urigubu presentations in virtue of a formal affinal relationship with the Chief through his wife because that is the way in which the relationship is regarded by the persons concerned, although in other connections they recognise clearly enough that the donors are not the affines but the clan kinsmen of the Chief. The reformulation of their status in terms of marriage is a structural phenomenon of the same order of significance as the reinterpretation of male status involved in the "male wife" political arrangement to which reference has already been made, and similarly demonstrates clearly the basic structural significance of marriage (25).

No presentations are made to the Chief from his juniors in the subclan as pokala. This is partly because the adult males of the Tabalu subclan total only three, as table 3 shows, so that there is relatively little opportunity for intensive competition within the subclan for the position of the Chief's heir designate; and partly also because, for reasons to be indicated in Section 6, , there was in 1950-51 considerable uncertainty as to what would be the position of Mitakata's successor, so that there was

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(25) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I p. 195.

relatively little incentive to compete for the succession apart from there being only two possible successors. Notwithstanding the restrictions of the power and functions of the Chief owing to non-indigenous influences, however, the figures and other data relating to his existing affinal relationships show that fundamentally they still had the same significances in native social organisation in 1951 as they had before European influences began to limit the effectiveness of indigenous political institutions. These data also demonstrate clearly the collective element in the affinal relationships between corporate groups established by individual marriages, which is latent if not actual in any marriage, but which is most clearly manifested in the marriages of Chiefs, in as much as in gardening for them their wives' kinsmen allocate and organise the human and material resources of their subclans collectively and cooperatively under the leadership of the head and other senior men and gardening experts of each subclan.

The Disposal of Urigubu Received.

The element of collectivity is apparent also in the disposal amongst members of the subclan of the garden produce received from their wives' brothers. This again is most clearly discernible in the case of the Chief, but is present in other cases also. The recipient of urigubu is, as Malinowski showed (26), normally expected to distribute a proportion of what he receives among his kinsfolk as kovisi, presentations which Malinowski correctly distinguishes from urigubu, but for which he does not offer an adequate explanation. Structurally the kovisi presentations are explicable

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(26) 1935 I pp. 189, 192, 223.

as symbolic of the right of other kinsmen of the original recipient to share in the garden produce he receives individually as a symbol of the individual affinal relationship set up by his marriage. The right to share in one anothers' urigubu received is however more than symbolic. In the same place Malinowski went on to refer to the likula bwaima, the right of a woman to require any of her "brothers" whose yamstore has been particularly well filled to "open the store" to her and her husband on presentation by her of a token valuable. More than this, members of subclans must contribute to any commitment of the corporate group from all their resources, including the urigubu received from their affines.

Thus when a Chief or other leader initiates a ceremonial distribution in connection with the harvest, for instance, or organises a competitive dance festival, it is the duty of his affines to "fill his house" (dodige la bwala) (27) with yams, meat and so forth as part of their urigubu duties to him, and in doing so to contribute from the urigubu they have in turn received from their own affines to the collective presentation made by each senior representative of the organiser's wives' subclans to the organiser on behalf of the subclan he represents. Similarly in carrying out mortuary distributions, in which as has been remarked already is most clearly symbolised the corporate nature of the subclans and of their affinal relationships, the members of the organising subclan(s) must contribute to the presentations made to the widow or widower and their subclan and clan kin from all their resources, including urigubu received. Indeed, as was noted

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(27) Cf. Malinowski ibid. p. 193.

earlier, it is likely that as much of the ceremonial harvest gift received by the average householder is given by him in contributions to such undertakings as is used for domestic purposes by the recipient and his family, while by far the greater proportion of a Chief's urigubu presentations is used for such ceremonial or public purposes, on behalf of his local as well as his descent group. The harvest presentations are thus made and received by individuals, and stored in the recipients' individual yamstores, in respect of their particular marriage relationships; but just as the latter set up collective affinal relationships between the corporate subclans of the individuals concerned, so both the making and the receipt of the presentations in which the structural relationships are symbolised is ultimately a matter of collective rights and responsibilities, the men of the wife's subclan having the collective responsibility of seeing that she and her husband are gardened for and, in the case of Chiefs, of producing the harvest gift directly or indirectly by collective efforts, and the men of the husband's subclan having the right to share in and draw upon one anothers' stored garden produce in fulfilling their collective ceremonial and other commitments.

Formal Significance of Urigubu Presentations.

In the foregoing discussion types of harvest presentations distinguished by Malinowski (28) as gemuine, pretence, spurious etc. urigubu have been included in effect in a single category. Malinowski indeed laid much emphasis upon the "complications" of urigubu presentations in his discussion in Chapter VI of Coral Gardens, Part I. Thus on page 190 he wrote "A subtle

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(28) 1935 I pp. 392-393, and subsequent discussion.

source of confusion for the European arises from the fact that it is not easy to state simply and exactly whether the gift at harvest is offered to the male head of the household or to his wife,....." . In fact, as his next sentences clearly indicate, the formal presentation is made to the husband, as the wife's brother's lubou, because of the latter's relationship with the wife; but it is held here that it is given to the sister only in the sense that, as her husband's domestic partner, she is entitled to share in his resources including the foodstuffs he receives from her brother as urigubu. This is not to deny that the wife has as much right to a voice in its disposal as her husband; indeed as is often the case in our own domestic life it is the wife who acts as the domestic "chancellor" in most cases, and the husband will for instance consult her before he decides how much of the available yams he will contribute to a mortuary ceremonial or other undertakings. But the "complications" and "paradoxes" which Malinowski sees in the urigubu practices, and indeed in kinship relations in general, seem to me to arise from a confusion between analysis of the attitudes and motivations of the participants in the proceedings and analysis of the systematic relationships which inform and give direction to their behaviour.

Formally, from the Kiriwinans' viewpoint, all the presentations made in the lists presented in the Appendix under the heading of urigubu, and all those listed in Malinowski's documentations, are urigubu presentations, because they are all ceremonial gifts of yams grown for the purpose in the main or kaymata gardens, made with the proper observances in respect of the formal relationships between male representatives of subclans, whether the individuals concerned stand as formal lubou or as tama and latu etc. to one another, and

whether the presentations are made directly to representatives of other subclans or indirectly, through the intermediacy of an elder or a mother's brother for whom the donor gardens, who in turn gardens directly on the junior's behalf for the affine concerned (cf. p. 384). Structurally, any presentation can be said to be urigubu if it symbolises, expresses or reinforces a formal relationship which is an analogue in social organisation of a structural relation of communication between active modes in different units.

From this structural and from the Kiriwinans' formal viewpoint, the motives conditioning the making of the presentation in individual cases are irrelevant, as is any manipulation of relationships that may be involved in arranging them. Thus a presentation made in respect of formal affinal relationships is still urigubu whether the donor is an own or personal or a classificatory or formal kinsman of the wife; whether his motive in undertaking to garden for her arises from his personal affection for her or is the result of his ambition to achieve power amongst his kinsmen; or whether or not the affinal relationship between donor and recipient is established by an actual marriage between a man and a woman of the two subclans or by another mechanism, such as the marriage of a male wife (tokwava) or the attachment of members of the husband's own clan as his formal affines to one of his wives for political reasons. The affinal relationship established in the latter case is no more fictitious or spurious than that established in the former, the purpose of such arrangements being to establish a real, that is an effective, affinal relationship between representatives of the corporate groups concerned which serve as contracts of political significance. In one

sense, indeed, the formal inter-group relations established by such arrangements may be said to be more "real" than those latent in an ordinary marriage of a junior member of a subclan, since the structural significance of the latter as a contract between the corporate groups concerned may never be great, while that of an arrangement of the male wife or "clan affinal" kinds is always great, since it is only made for specific political and otherwise structurally significant reasons.

I therefore consider it unnecessary and misleading to attempt to distinguish between proper and spurious etc. urigubu presentations as Malinowski did, preferring rather to indicate, as was done in analysis of the tables, the ways in which different relationships between subclan kin and affines all serve at least potentially the same structural end of symbolising the formal relationship between the representatives of corporate groups and hence between the corporate groups themselves. It is only by a hypothesis such as that of the structural system of communication that the form taken by the marriage contract, including the presentation of the urigubu gift, can be explained in any other than a historical sense. Malinowski's analysis in Section 2 of Chapter VI of Coral Gardens Part I, entitled "Hunger, Love and Vanity as Driving Forces in the Trobriand Harvest Gift", proves upon examination to be no more than a detailed description of the ideas, attitudes and values attaching to the urigubu presentation as an element in the complex of Trobriand kinship phenomena. As such it is of course valuable, for it does explain why the individual Trobriander accepts and takes a pride and satisfaction in fulfilling the obligations of gardening for households other than his own, as it sets out to do. It does not however explain in any

sense the form of kinship and marriage relationships; indeed it takes these for granted, and then proceeds to show how their form gives rise as it were to motives, incentives and sanctions which induce the Trobrianders to conform to the requirements of the system. Thus for instance the principle of legitimacy as apparent in Malinowski's discussion of why women marry, and why their brothers both require them to do so and contribute ceremonially to the households set up by their marriages (29), amounts to a formulation in "sociological" terms of the Kiriwinans' more or less conscious views on the subject; it offers no sort of answer to the question "Why should the rules of descent and of marriage take the form they have among the Trobrianders?". Indeed any attempt to explain the nature of the institution by reference to the reactions of the participants to it and their behaviour as conditioned by it must prove to be tautological; it would amount to saying that the people behave as they do because the institution is as it is, and that the institution is as it is because the people behave as they do.

It is in the belief that it is possible and desirable to try to go farther than this that the present concept of social structure as an explanatory logical construct has been formulated, so that it becomes possible to say that both marriage as an institution and the attitudes and behaviour of members of society centering upon it have their typical characteristics in the Trobriand kinship and social system because of the structural significance of marriage as a contract which organises the relationships of units in the system; that is because of the significance of marriage as the

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(29) Malinowski op. cit. pp. 202-203.

analogue in social organisation of a state of communication between units in the concept of social structure. If marriage is to have this significance then it follows that the corporate units must be exogamous, and both respect relationships between brothers and sisters and the principle of legitimacy then appear as mechanisms which ensure the marriages of members of different units. In other words, so far from determining the nature of marriage, the biological processes of reproduction and maturation serve its ends, as it were, as a characteristic structural institution.

Structurally then the urigubu presentations are explained as symbols of the contractual relationship between representatives of corporate subclans, and other aspects of their significance are to be regarded as deriving from this structural aspect of their meaning. From this viewpoint Malinowski's view that basically, although presented to the husband, they are gifts from brother to sister representing the "... endowment by its real head of the matrilineal unit of filiation..." (30) cannot be accepted, though it may represent a secondary formal significance. Malinowski states specifically that "Each man must offer to his sister taytu grown by himself on his own land and carried to her by his own kinsfolk and relatives-in-law" (31); and as further evidence of the view that it is presented to the sister via her husband he refers to the discontinuation of the urigubu after her death (32). Data already adduced contradict these views, in as much as :-

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(30) Ibid. p. 207; cf. p. 208.

(31) Ibid. pp. 198, 353.

(32) Ibid. pp. 190, 353.

1. The presentations made to normal households represent only a relatively small proportion of their annual domestic requirements, as Malinowski also indicated in a number of contexts;

2. The amounts presented are not calculated by reference to the domestic requirements of the recipient household, e.g. to the number of children the sister is rearing, as might be expected if the presentation were intended primarily to "endow" her and her children;

3. Only a relatively small proportion of urigubu is presented by "own" brothers in fact, and still less is grown by them on their "own" land, if by this is meant land belonging to their subclans, as is indicated by the fact that only 30 percent of all adult males in fact live in their own villages (cf. table 6), and that this is not regarded as wrong or anomalous by informants;

4. Formal urigubu presentations end when a marriage is terminated by the death of either spouse, whereas if Malinowski's interpretation were correct they should be continued to the sister after the death of her husband at least so long as she maintains a separate household and has children to rear. This does not however occur; but on the other hand widowed fathers may continue to be gardened for by their sons, or by the latters' mothers' brothers if the boys are too young, so long as they maintain separate households and do not remarry, in fulfilment of the personal obligations imposed upon the children by their father's care (cf. pp. 58 and 62-63 above).

Point 3 on this page also applies to the argument that from the viewpoint of land tenure the urigubu is "the annual return from the joint patrimony, the portion which is due to the woman from her brother; because

the land which he husbands is partly his own, partly held in trust for the females of each generation" (33). If the formal aspect of the presentation in fact related to the woman's rights in her subclan's land it would be surprising that empirically so few women receive harvest gifts grown on their subclan's land. The apparent anomaly does not apply however if the formal significance is appreciated as attaching to the act of presentation to the husband by the brother, the act itself having significance, not as a contribution to the economic needs of the household which Malinowski's account clearly shows is not the way the Trobrianders regard it (34), but as an annual symbolic renewal of the contract between the husband and the wife's brother, which binds the husband to render services to the brother in caring for and acting as the guardian of the wife and her children on behalf of her brother, and the latter in turn to perform reciprocal services to the husband. At the same time the presentation symbolises the annual renewal of the contract between the husband and the wife, the latter undertaking to continue to provide for the husband's sexual and domestic needs as her share of the reciprocal services due to him for his care of her and her children, including providing for them economically.

As Malinowski states more than once, the harvest presentations represent only part of the reciprocicities owed to the husband by the wife's brother, and the term urigubu refers ultimately to them all (35). As has already

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(33) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I p. 353.

(34) Ibid. cf. esp. p. 209.

(35) 1935 I esp. pp. 196, 208.

been indicated (e.g. pp. 275-276, 367-370) both in principle and in practice in the majority of marriages the relation between lubou is one of amicable cooperation based on opposed but complementary interests in marriage contract and household established thereby, the rights and responsibilities of the husband being such that in principle they should not conflict with those of the wife's brother. In proportion as the marriage becomes increasingly important in the relationships of the corporate groups they represent however, rivalry tends to enter the relationship in the efforts of each to safeguard and advance the interests of his corporate group, both kinship and local, at the expense of the other. When this factor enters the relationship, the husband's rights to services from the wife's brother and other members of her subclan gives him a potential advantage. All husbands are entitled to call upon their wives' brothers for assistance in undertakings requiring communal labour, such as fencing their gardens, building a new dwelling house or yamstore or a canoe etc.; the wife's brothers are expected to guard and succour her husband in ill health (the zeal with which they perform this service being popularly regarded as an index of whether or not they have caused his illness by sorcery), and to rally to his support in disputes of any kind. A husband thus has a body of men upon whom he is entitled to call for help and support in many situations, and if he is of strong or unscrupulous personality, especially if he has the advantage of rank, he can use his claims on his affines to secure their support in advancing his personal power and prestige, e.g. in pursuit of the succession to a headman or Chief.

It is this aspect of marriage and the lubou relationship that is relevant

in political organisation above all, and that reflects the structural significance of marriage contracts in the relations of corporate groups. As an economic transaction the presentation of urigubu gifts to commoners is of comparatively little importance, as we have seen; its importance is much greater in the case of Chiefs, but so far as political organisation is concerned the Chief's wealth is at least as much the result of his power over his affines resulting in turn from his position as their sisters' husband plus the factor of his high rank and strong personality, as it is the cause of his political influence and power. From this viewpoint also the urigubu presentations must be regarded therefore primarily as symbolic annual reassertions of the contractual relation between the Chief and his affines, but in his case the paramount significance of the contract is the way in which it secures the Chief political adherents, rather than a wife as such, and his adherents the support and leadership of a political Chief rather than simply a social guardian and pater for their sister and her children. As we have seen also, any marriage may potentially acquire this kind of primary significance if the husband has the right kind of personality and abilities, and from this viewpoint no particular case or class of urigubu presentation can be said to be specifically "tributary" in as much as the element of tribute, in the sense of a presentation to an actually or potentially more powerful person, is present to some degree in all presentations, although this aspect may be predominant in some presentations.

Thus structurally the explanation of urigubu presentations is that they are the formal symbols of the annual renewal of the contractual relationship between husbands as the representatives of their corporate kin groups and one

or more men of their wives' subclans as the representatives of theirs. That the contractual relationship is of potentially general significance is apparent in the fact that no single aspect of its significance, e.g. as a repayment for the husband's services rendered to the wife and her kinsmen, as an "endowment" of the sister's household or as her share of her brother's "patrimony", or as the means whereby the donor secures successors to himself in his subclan, will adequately explain of itself all its characteristics as a social mechanism, though these ancillary aspects may be present to some degree in each transaction. But granted its significance as the symbol of a formal contract of interaction (pp. 272-274), characteristics which from other viewpoints may well be described as paradoxical, e.g. its being made by formal as well as personal kin, by affines as well as subclan kin of the wife, in yams grown more often on other land than that of her subclan than on its land, the fact that it is not regarded as an economic transaction by the natives and bears no relation to the domestic requirements as such of the recipient, the question of whether it is to be regarded as made to the husband or the wife, and so forth, are resolved or can be regarded as false problems, in the sense of being irrelevant so far as the significance of <u>urigubu</u> presentations in social organisation is concerned, as the question of the knowledge of physiological paternity is irrelevant from the viewpoint of the structural significance of the kinship system in social organisation. In this structural sense <u>urigubu</u> presentations are made and received by individuals on behalf of their corporate subclans, the members of which have the collective responsibility of providing the ceremonial harvest gifts for husbands of the women, and the collective right to share in the gifts received

from the brothers of the wives of the men, as symbolic expressions and renewals of formal contractual relationships between the corporate subclans as structural units of social organisation.

Property Rights and Inheritance.

The preceding discussion raises the question of the nature of rights over property, in particular over land, and their inheritance. These subjects have been discussed at some length by Malinowski in Coral Gardens I, Cap. XII, and the present aim is not to cover again the matters examined therein, but rather to relate Malinowski's account to the present analysis, and supplement it with some data on numbers of plots of land and other property owned. I am not concerned here with personal possessions such as lime spatulae, weapons, grass skirts and household utensils as owned by individuals (gugua); these are produced by their owners normally, and may be handed on by them to others as tokens of esteem or affection, or may be burnt after the death of the owner, at the final mortuary rite. The heir of a dead person, in whose name the mortuary rites are held, distributes among the mourners and close kin some of the deceased person's personal effects as well as nail clippings, locks of hair etc. which are sometimes kept as mementoes (kayvaluba) by the recipients, but may, especially in the case of dead Chiefs, be collected again by the heir at the termination of the mourning period and burnt ceremonially. Similarly a dead person's valuables (vaygu'a) after being used in the first mortuary rite are distributed amongst affines in acknowledgment of the services rendered in mourning on behalf of the subclan kin; but these are elements in the mortuary ritual, not in inheritance. Valuables which count as heirlooms, however, are not thus treated but pass to

the heir; such heirlooms are subclan, not private property, and are subject to the same rules of inheritance as are other kinds of subclan property (36).

Subclan property consists principally of land and magic, but though in principle the rules of inheritance are the same for both in practice of course the inheritance of magic is not so amenable to regulation because it has to be taught and learnt and only survives the possessor's death if during his lifetime he has passed it on to someone. Semi-permanent property, such as coconut palms especially and areca palms to a lesser extent, are also subject to the same rules as land, but in their case also there is greater flexibility in interpreting the rules, because they are originally planted by their first owners who are felt therefore to have a more absolute right of disposal over them, in spite of formal claims by heirs and successors, than they have over plots of land which are part of the collective heritage of the corporate subclan from its emergent ancestors, and as such are held in trust for the subclan by individuals, rather than owned by them; "ownership" of plots of a subclan's land in this sense by non-members is quite consistent with the native attitude, suitable "strangers" being acceptable as trustees, as it were, provided they are related affinally to the owning subclan (37).

Transference of Rights - Pokala.

Land tenure rights can be adequately summarised for the present purpose as being of two kinds; those deriving from ownership and those deriving

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(36) Malinowski 1929 pp. 130 ff.

(37) Malinowski 1935ICap. XII Sec. 1.

from citizenship (cf. note37 p. 48). Members of the owning subclan of a village have the right to cultivate its lands in virtue of their birth, and anyone else who is accepted as a resident of their village in virtue of clan or affinal kinship relations with members of the owning subclan acquires the right to exploit its land as a non-owner citizen. Ownership of land does not include the right to alienate it absolutely to non-owners, but individuals may acquire limited rights of disposal over particular plots. A subclan's collective rights of ownership over its lands are vested on behalf of the corporate group in its recognised headman (38), but other individual members may acquire the limited rights over particular plots from him or from other, usually senior, members who have themselves acquired such rights by the system of pokala (39), as was indicated above pp. 390-391. The term refers to a system whereby services and/or gifts are rendered to persons who are in a position to return them with a desired response, by rendering a particular service or by making over property, including land, to the individual who performs pokala for it. The term designates both the gifts or services rendered and the act of rendering them as well as the system. Pokala is not limited to subclan kin, but may be performed by affines also; thus a citizen of a village may pokala a member of the owning subclan for land as may a junior member of the owning subclan, and residents of other villages or of neighbouring village clusters may pokala the headman or Chief of a village or a village cluster for the use of some of the land of which he is the formal

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(38) Ibid. p. 346.

(39) Ibid. Index s.v. Pokala, esp. p. 345 and footnote.

"owner" for a season (40). However it occurs notably more frequently between members of the same subclan than between others.

If a junior member of a subclan wishes to acquire a plot of land he decides after consideration who of his seniors, elder or mothers' brothers or mothers' mothers' brothers usually, who are known to possess plots is most likely to respond favourably to his approach, and then proceeds to make him gifts, such as specially fine bunches of bananas, fish he catches or obtains from lagoon villages, or tobacco or tools obtained from traders or other sources (including the young man's wife's brothers, if he is married; one of the situations in which a man is entitled to call upon his lubou for assistance is this of making pokala). He also seizes or makes opportunities for rendering the senior man special services, e.g. bringing him loads of firewood, doing work for him on his main garden plot without being asked, being assiduous in attention when the senior man is unwell and so on. Either at the time of receipt or on a suitable occasion the recipient of the goods or services is informed ceremonially that the gift made or the service rendered is pokala, the occasion, and wherever possible that of the presentations of gifts themselves, being always one when spectators or witnesses are present. If the recipient is satisfied with the gifts and services rendered he will on this or a later occasion perform the service or make the gift required of him; in the case of land he announces publicly to a quorum of responsible members of the community that he is handing over a designated plot to the individual who has performed the pokala. If he is

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(40) Malinowski ibid. pp. 372-373. Cf. also 1922 Index s.v. pokala esp. pp. 181, 185-6.

not satisfied, the recipient lets this be known; the younger man may then decide to pokala him further, or he may seek the help of other senior men to persuade the man already pokala'ed to accede to his request, possibly soliciting their assistance with gifts and services also. If the owner of the land finally refuses to hand it over, there is little the younger man can do about it, other than to try to persuade his fellows that the older man is unjust and mean, and that it is no use their seeking land from him either; in other words, he may seek to persuade his brothers not to perform pokala to the senior who has refused him land.

The land or other property sought from a senior may in this way be passed on to the junior before the senior's death, or the senior may make it known publicly that the junior is to receive it after his death. Thus the pokala provides the way in which a man acquires a personal heir or heirs, for a man may "bequeath" property to any junior whom he considers to have deserved it of him, by being attentive to the senior's rights and needs whether the attentions received were made as specific acts of pokala at the time or as the result of the younger man's paying heed to the normal requirements of respect, affection and care due from junior members of a subclan to their seniors in general. In as much as the junior most likely to pay such attentions to any marked extent to a senior man, and the senior man most likely to respond favourably to specific acts of pokala from a junior, are one anothers' own or personal kin, the tendency is for men to receive property whether by transfer or by inheritance from such own or personal kin; but while this is regarded as "good", there seems to be no rule that such personal inheritance ought to be between own kin.

Nor does there appear to be any formal rule concerning genealogical seniority in such matters; apart from there being in practice a tendency for pokala to be made for the reasons indicated above to close personal rather than to less well known seniors, the corporate subclan seems to be regarded as a single unit for this as for other purposes, and although as we have seen collateral lines of descent could be traced to some extent within the subclans, succession to subclan and village headmanships passed as often from a member of one to a member of another such line as from a senior to a junior member of the same line (cf. Cap. II Sec. 2, pp. 96-111). Nor is succession or inheritance strictly adelphic in principle, as Malinowski held. The only strict rule is that the headman of a village or a subclan must be succeeded by a member of the same subclan; the individual who in fact succeeds is the man who shows himself to be most suitable and acceptable to replace his predecessor as the formal representative of the total subclan in its most important relationships, qualifications of age, ability, reputation for generosity and integrity and so forth being more significant in this respect than genealogical relationships as such (41). Thus examination of the genealogies in the Appendix will show for instance that the present heir designate of Mitakata the Tabalu Chief is his formal not his own sister's son, while he himself succeeded his formal mother's mother's brother To'uluwa, who also was a much older man than his successor, although there were a number of genealogically senior men who might have preceded To'uluwa in the succession.

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(41) Cf. Malinowski ibid. pp. 345-346.

As has been noted above, it is the duty of a man's personal heir who succeeds him positionally in virtue of pokala to conduct the mortuary rites on his behalf. The heir has the duty of distributing formally any inheritable property such as land coconut or areca palms amongst other members of the subclan who have recognised claims upon the dead man, keeping for himself only such plots of land etc. as may have been specifically given or bequeathed by him to other men in virtue of pokala or may be claimed by such men in respect of special services rendered, e.g. in caring for the dead man in illness. Such care as noted above may be recognised by the receiver as pokala in his lifetime, or may be claimed to have been such in effect by those who gave it after his death against his "estate". Any land that may remain undistributed of the dead man's holding after pokala claims including those of the heir have been met reverts to the common pool of land held by the subclan headman, not to the personal heir unless of course he happens also to be the headman. Should a man die without there being one individual recognised as his personal heir, the head and other senior men of the subclan arbitrate between the possible claimants or, if there are none, appoint someone to conduct the mortuary rites and allocate any heritable property under their direction. But if a man has heritable property of any significance it is not likely that there will be no one reasonably definitely recognised as his heir, while if he has no land of his own, as may well be the case, someone, usually a personal younger brother or a sister's son, undertakes to organise the mortuary rites out of affection or nepotal respect, or both.

Frequency of Individual Ownership of Land etc.

It must be realised that in the case of land, and to a lesser extent that of cocomut palms also, the Chief or headman holds the title to by far the greater part of the property of the corporate group on its behalf, while individual members hold only a relatively small proportion of the total. Table 15 in the Appendix shows that of 73 adults of Tilakaiwa, Omarakana-Kasanai and Yolowotu whose holdings I was able to investigate 28 or 38 percent had no garden plots of their own, and 5 or 7 percent had no cocomut palms. All had areca palms, mostly of their own planting, which reflects the relative rapidity of maturation and death of the areca palm; cocomut palms much more often live long enough to be inherited. The numbers of garden plots (baleko - 42) and coconut and areca palms held by headman of subclans, including the Chief, and their heirs and by "owners" of more distant villages could not be ascertained, as in the former case the property held was "too numerous to be counted", and in the latter distance made it impossible to check informants' statements. Excluding therefore the holdings of the headmen and "strangers", it was found that 33 individuals held between them about 225 plots of land in the Omarakana cluster, averaging 7-8 plots each, while 57 had 530 cocomut palms, with an average of 9-10 each, and 50 had 600 areca palms between them, averaging 12 each. Taking into consideration the individuals who held no plots or cocomut palms, the averages work out at 3-4 garden plots per householder and 7-8 coconut palms, the figure of 12 areca palms remaining the same. It was impossible to find out exactly how many

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(42) Malinowski 1935 I Index s.v. Garden Plots.

plots of land, coconut and areca palms were in addition held by the headmen on behalf of the subclans, but a rough estimate based on the average number of plots in the cleared garden sites and the proportion of the total area of the lands of the subclans represented by these sites suggests that these individual holdings represent in the case of garden land certainly less than 10 percent of the total and probably less than 5 percent, while individually owned cocomut palms represent perhaps 50 percent or so and areca palms about 75 percent of the totals of these trees growing on the lands of the Omarakana cluster villages.

Acquisition from Different Categories of Kin and Others.

Table 17 presents figures of the frequencies of both transferences before and of inheritance after the death of senior members of the property of different kinds of kin and others to their juniors. The two left hand columns indicate first the relationship and then the kinship term used of the senior whose property was acquired in each case. The A columns are cases in which the property was situated in the village of the subclan of the recipient, who was also resident in that village, while the B columns record cases in which the property was in the recipient's village of residence which was not his subclan's village and the C columns cases in which the property was in other villages than the recipient's own or that in which he was resident. The numbers of plots, etc. acquired are not taken into consideration in this table.

It will be seen that there are 127 cases in all of transferences or inheritance from members of the recipient's subclan as against 40 cases involving affines, and 14 involving the obtaining of property from other

sources by pokala to Chiefs and headmen or in return for acts of help or kindness etc. to neighbours. There are 43 cases of garden plots obtained from subclan kin, 48 of coconut palms and 38 of areca palms, the corresponding figures for affines being 11, 13 and 16. Much the largest number of individual cases involving kin of the same category are those where property is received from mothers' brothers, followed by receipts from mothers' mothers' brothers, elder brothers and fathers in that order. Amongst other subclan kin 6 cases involve presentations from younger to elder brothers; all these were cases of formal elder brothers obtaining palm trees from "younger brothers" who were the headmen of their subclans. The 11 cases of "kinsmen" are instances in which the formal relationship to the senior was forgotten, the informants being old men. There are 14 cases in all in which the person from whom the property was received are women; 2 mothers' mothers, 8 mothers, 2 sisters and one each father's sister and wife's mother. The proportion of these to the cases in which men are involved probably reflects the relative frequency of individual ownership of property of these kinds by women as against men (43).

From the tables it will be apparent that in the case of land the plots owned tend to be either in the individual's own village or in that of his father, where he is resident in it, and this reflects the tendency of the individual to pokala senior members of the local group of residence, as well as of his subclan. The two cases of plots being received from mother's brothers in villages other than that of residence or the own subclan derive

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(43) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I p. 353.

from the possession of fields by the Tabalu Chief in other villages than those of Omarakana cluster (44), while the three cases of receipt of plots in the sons' subclans' villages from fathers result from the fathers' residence in the villages where they had been given plots by their wives' brother, as in the 4 cases of plots received from wives' brothers recorded. The fathers in due course passed the plots so received on to their sons, i.e. their wives' brothers' sisters' sons. The relative absence of cases of ownership of land in villages other than that of residence reflects the fact that retention of individual titles to plots depends upon residence in the village in which they are situated. By whatever means a member of a subclan acquires such a title in his own village if he does not take up residence there or leaves it, his effective rights either to use it himself or to claim token gifts from those who use it (45) lapse, and in time so will his title to the plots. In the case of acquisition of land from affines or others, the heir of the individual from whom the land was acquired may redeem it from whoever it was given, e.g. to the son, by making a presentation to him which is considered to cancel out the pokala in respect of which the land was given in the first place. Moreover since plots of land are only given to persons other than subclan kin who are residents in the same village, to allocate the title of a plot to an affine or a neighbour does not entail its loss to the subclan even if it is not redeemed, for as we have seen the new owner's right is contingent upon his residence in the village, and if he leaves it,

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(44) Ibid. pp. 433-434.

(45) Ibid. pp. 372-373.

it reverts to the "pool" of land held by the subclan or village headman, while if he stays it is likely that it will in any case be given back by him in return for pokala by a member of the owning subclan who thus acquires the individual title. Thus in principle the land of a subclan cannot be alienated out of its possession, while in practice also it remains under its control even though nominally owned by a non-member.

Land received from women is usually given as an expression of affection rather than in response to formal pokala, and indeed the giving of it to a son or daughter is one of the ways in which a woman seeks to make provision for her old age by ensuring her personal claim on the recipient for care and attention when she needs it. The same is also true of presentations of garden plots made to their sons by fathers during their lifetime to a degree; but it is not infrequently held that they obtain land from their wives' brothers mainly in order to pass it on in turn to their sons, so that when they grow up "they will already have land of their own and therefore be ready at once to garden for the fathers". Palm trees are also obtained and passed on in much the same ways as land; but there is of course the difference that trees planted by individuals are owned by them in a sense that land can never be owned individually, and rights in relation to trees tend to approximate more closely to that of absolute disposal even though subclan kin are felt to have a prior claim upon them. The same applies in practice, though not in principle, to the ownership of magic, since the ability to acquire it by pokala depends ultimately upon an older man's willingness to teach it; but again in the case of palms acquisition from subclan kin is much more common than from other individuals. In fact

coconut palms in particular tend to be used freely by individuals regardless of their ownership, as a result of Administrative edicts to the effect that the fruit of trees planted by the roadsides may be used by any passerby as he requires. Normally this is not objected too, but resentment is occasioned if nuts are collected in order to make copra from trees belonging to others, unless their permission is obtained first. Since it is difficult to detect such "thefts" of nuts however there is normally little to be done except to place trees under the kaytubutabu (46) or a private taboo.

Formal Significance of Individual Ownership.

It is clear from previous Chapters and Malinowski's accounts that the individual who possesses no garden plots or cocomut palms is under no disadvantage so far as his ability to provide for himself and his dependants is concerned, since he has the right to land in the village of residence for cultivation irrespective of whether he owns plots himself or not, and since few people if any, other of course than Chiefs and headmen and a few other senior notables possess enough plots of their own to satisfy even their domestic needs for more than a couple of seasons. Their possession is however of considerable importance as an index of status and as a means of enhancing one's power amongst one's fellows. Table 16 indicates the distribution of numbers of plots owned among the sample of adult residents in the Omarakana cluster. It will be seen from it that the largest single group is that of men who own no plots; this group corresponds roughly with the young married men, but includes a few older ones. The next largest

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(46) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 300 ff.

group, that of men owning 1-5 plots, approximately corresponds to the younger married men whose marriages have moved beyond the stage of "probation"; many of these men have their first children. At the same time it includes a number of men of fairly senior status, who are however not leading men in their localities.

There is a group of four men owning between six and ten plots each; these men are all of moderate seniority and of some degree of eminence in their villages, many of them gardening for the most important affines of their subclans or of those of the headmen of their villages of residence. The two men having 11-15 and 16-20 plots may also be included with the last mentioned group so far as their personal status is concerned. The group of five men with 21-30 plots each and the one man with 31-40 plots are all senior men, but not actual headmen, of their subclans and villages. This group includes the garden magicians of Tilakaiwa and Yolawotu and of Omarakana-Kasanai; the garden magician of Wakailua is also the village headman. All these are men of importance who garden for the Chief and other important affines, and who in association with the headmen exercise a controlling influence over their juniors in their subclans and villages.

The number of plots owned per individual thus varies more or less in accordance with the owner's importance in the kinship and local group, and serves as a rough index of success in <u>pokala</u>, which in turn is evidence of the individual's diligence and ability in the service of the corporate subclan or village as represented by its senior members. It thus becomes highly desirable to acquire individual holdings of garden land, and to a lesser extent of coconut and areca palms, although their possession is not essential

or even highly advantageous from the point of view of the material benefits they confer on the owner. But the possessor of these forms of property in particular, and the possessor of magic as well, though this has not been discussed here since the conditions under which it can be transmitted are different from those attaching to land etc., is in a position to confer favours and benefits, including bestowal of the right to his plots of land and so forth in return for a token "rent" or "tribute", upon members of his subclan or upon his affines and others in repayment of services and gifts rendered. Thus the control exercised by senior men of a subclan over the property in their personal possession, together with the desire of their juniors to acquire plots of their own in order to enhance their prestige and influence among their fellows and thus in time become themselves influential senior or head men of their subclans, places the juniors in a position of dependence upon the seniors which is more specific, and hence more effective as a mechanism of social control, than the general respect and obedience owed by junior to senior members of a subclan as such.

In as much as operation of this mechanism is bound up with <u>pokala</u>, which occurs most frequently and intensively between subclan kin, <u>pokala</u> as an element in social organisation may be explained structurally as a mechanism of the same order of significance in the relationships of the members of a subclan as has <u>urigubu</u> in the relationships of affines. It is this structural similarity in their significance that explains the fact that both <u>urigubu</u> and <u>pokala</u> may from one viewpoint be regarded as "tribute" from less powerful and important members of the community to its leaders,

as is apparent in Malinowski's accounts (47). It also explains the fact that in some situations affines may pokala and subclan kin present urigubu to each other; that is to say, since pokala has the same basic structural significance in the relationships of members of the same structural unit or corporate subclan as has urigubu in the relationships between affines as members of different structural units, and since both subclan and affinal kinship operate in social organisation in the context of local grouping, situations may arise within this context in which pokala may serve the formal ends of affinal relations and urigubu those of subclan organisation, as we have seen in discussion urigubu presentations.

The Organised Subclan in Social Organisation.

In the present Section examination of the frequencies of adoptions, of urigubu presentations and of acquisition of property, especially by the pokala system, has revealed the corporate nature of the subclan in relation to its human population and the products of the labour of its members as well as its resources in land and other heritable property. Adoption has been explained structurally as a mechanism whereby members of the succeeding generation of the subclan are redistributed amongst the adults, thereby reinforcing the solidarity of members who are separated by residence from the permanent nucleus of members resident in the subclan's own village; this effect is probably most notable in the case of women, amongst whom "gifts" of children are most frequent, and who as we have seen tend to develop a weaker sense of solidarity with their subclan's other members than do men because of

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(47) Cf. 1935 I e.g. pp. 209-210 and p. 345, footnote 2.

the virilocal pattern of residence. A further effect of the practice may be that the redistribution of children serves to even out the proportion of brothers to sisters in different families and localities, and thus to increase the efficiency of the subclan in respect of the urigubu presentations made by its members.

These, we have seen also, are the collective responsibilities of its members, men of each generation having the first responsibility of gardening primarily for the women of their own and secondarily for those of other generations, and tending to arrange their commitments among themselves in the interests of convenience and efficiency not only in actual gardening, but also in the conduct of other and ultimately more important aspects of their relationships with their sisters' husbands as representatives of their respective subclans in the formal affinal contract. The members of a subclan have also collective rights in the urigubu presentations received from their wives' brothers, in as much as each member has the duty of contributing to collective undertakings of the corporate subclan from his available resources, of which the urigubu he receives, so long as it lasts, is part. But it was seen also that structurally the ceremonial urigubu presentations are symbolically rather than economically significant, and that what they symbolise is the annual renewal of the affinal contract between lubou; in presenting the harvest gifts the wife's brother undertakes anew to perform services other than gardening on behalf of the husband as and when the latter's circumstances and intentions dictate, and in receiving it the husband renews his contract to continue in return to provide for his wife's and her children's needs and in general to act as their guardian on

behalf of her brother. The brother has some claim on his sister's husband for assistance in undertakings of various kinds also, but these are less far reaching than those the husband has upon him; the husband's duties to the wife are as we have seen contractual, those of the brother as representative of her subclan are not, and this gives the husband a potential advantage in "bargaining power" over the brother which is crystallised when the husband is a man of rank and power.

The senior men of a subclan supervise the marriage relationships of its members, intervening where necessary to prevent undesirable and to promote desirable matches through the intermediacy of their sisters' husbands as was seen in the last Section, and in the same way they may intervene to ensure satisfactory allocation of gardening responsibilities in respect of new and already contracted marriages. But since initially few marriages are individually of much structural importance such intervention is not frequent either in marriage negotiations or in the allocation of formal responsibilities; for as Malinowski's accounts show the individual's are so closely bound up with his subclan's interests that he normally fulfils his responsibilities to the subclan of his own volition in furthering his own interests.

The dependence of members of the subclan upon one another, especially that of juniors upon seniors, is particularly apparent in the pokala system, which was structurally explained as a mechanism in subclan kinship equivalent to urigubu in affinal kinship. Junior members of a subclan depend upon the support of their seniors for their wellbeing within the subclan as men depend for their sisters' and successors' wellbeing upon the support of the

women's husbands; and since position in the community at large is closely associated with position in the corporate subclan, junior members depend largely upon their seniors' support for their social position generally. From this viewpoint the pokala is of fundamental importance in the control exercised by senior of junior subclan kin, and hence in the processes of social control in general, in as much as it involves the performance of services and the making of gifts by individual juniors to individual seniors in order to solicit their approval and support, thus emphasising and expressing symbolically and reinforcing materially the subordination of juniors to seniors in general by giving the seniors the means of controlling their juniors' behaviour effectively.

Underlying both the dependence of juniors and the solidarity of members of the subclan in general, is the basic factor of their mutual interpendence, and their common dependence upon membership of their subclan for their position in Trobriand society. The Kiriwinan derives his rank, his claims to land, whether that of his subclan's own village or that of any other village in which he may reside, indeed his claim to be counted a member of society, from his status as a member of a subclan. Anything he does that tends to weaken his subclan's claims to rank, land etc. or to weaken its ability to safeguard these claims therefore ultimately weakens his own claims; anything he does to promote his subclan's claims promotes his own. As an informant put it, "A man's rank, his land, his wealth are those of his subclan; so are his renown (butara - 48) and his power in the land". This consideration is the strongest internalised sanction

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(48) Malinowski, works indices s.v. Renown, Butura.

controlling the Kiriwinan's behaviour, and it determines also his standards of values and morality; good behaviour is ultimately that which is in the interests of the subclan, bad is that which is against them, and behaviour that is always bad as between members of the same subclan, e.g. theft of food, may be good if it works out in the interests of the subclan when indulged in even in the subclan's village, if the person stolen from is a "stranger". The most effective external sanction is the disapproval of members of the subclan as expressed particularly by the head and other senior men, since it carries with it the threat of withdrawal of the subclan's support and ultimately of membership in as much as in principle a member of a subclan may be formally expelled (yoba - 49) from it, just as the subclan may expel undesirable "strangers" from its village.

Thus both in practice and in principle the members of a subclan constitute an organised corporate group, with economic political, jural and ritual significance in social organisation. In principle also it should be possible to discuss social organisation entirely in terms of the relations between corporate subclans and their affinal and clan kin, since the men of a subclan should reside in their subclan's village, and if all men did so the adult male population of a village would consist of members of the owning subclan only. Were this the case in practice the structural analysis of Trobriand social organisation would now be complete, with some amplification of various aspects; the structure of the residential village group could be represented on Diagram 1 of the appendix by a line enclosing

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(49) Malinowski 1929 pp. 11-12.

the transmissive and latent modes of one and the originative and quiescent modes of another unit of communication, representing the attachment of a female representative of one subclan and local group and her children to the male representative of another thereby establishing a formal relation of interaction between a male representative of her subclan and local group and one of the group to which she was attached. In practice, however, as we know, not all men live in their subclans' villages, and some women do; and there are structurally significant reasons for this, arising from the formal male role in relations of interaction between corporate groups. It is therefore necessary to examine the formal organisation of local groups in their own right, as it were, in the light of the organisation of the subclans as corporate descent groups associated with localities.

Section 3. The Organisation of the Corporate Local Group. (50)

Physically the Trobriand village consists in a number of separate dwelling houses each occupied by an elementary family arranged in a more or less regular circular pattern around a single village "square" (baku - cf. p. 32 ff). Demographically it consists in a nucleus of households headed by men of one or more subclans which are socially identified with the village site and associated garden and other lands as the owning subclan(s), together with a number of other households headed by men who are members of subclans identified as owners with other villages whose composition is in turn essentially similar. Formally the village consists in a nucleus

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(50) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I Cap. XII; also pp. 33-40, 1922 Cap. II Sec. V., and 1926, passim.

of male representatives of the owning subclan(s) and their wives and a number of male representatives of other subclans and their wives, all the residents other than the members of the owning subclan(s) being clan or affinal kin of various kinds of theirs, and in some cases of one another also, so that by their kinship and especially affinal relationships the male residents are placed in relationships of formal interaction as representatives of their respective subclans both with one another and with male representatives of other subclans resident in other villages, so that the external affinal and clan kinship relations of the residents of a given village involve them in formal relationships with men who represent other local groups in effect as well as other subclans.

Structurally the village may be defined as a spatially delimited unit of population which is the context of operation in social organisation of a number of affinal contracts between individuals whose formal statuses are the analogues of modes of the same or of different units of communication in relations of communication with each other. The affinal contracts are physically embodied in individual domestic units - that is formal units of interaction consisting each in a husband as the formal male representative of his subclan placed in a relation of interaction through his wife as the female representative of hers with her brother as the male representative of that subclan. Structurally the fact that this is the institutionalised grouping concerned with reproduction and the care of both young and of aged and infirm members of the community is considered to be incidental to its significance as the embodiment of the formal contractual relation between subclans as units of social organisation; that is the specific

characteristics of the Kiriwinan system of kinship and marriage are best understood and explained conceptually if the latter is regarded as the primary function of marriage contracts and of the domestic units thereby established rather than the former, i.e. the control of the processes of reproduction for social ends.

If the formal rules of residence were strictly observed the village would be populated exclusively by socially adult (married) men and a few socially post-adult (widowed or divorced) women of the subclan identified with the village as owning it, together with the men's wives as adult female representatives of subclans identified with other villages, and their children as pre-adult members of their mothers' subclans. All the adult men of the owning subclan of the village would be resident in their subclan's village, and all the adult men of their wives' subclans would be resident also in their respective villages, so that the lubou relationship would in all cases involve men who as formal representatives of their subclans were also representatives of different local groups; and this may be said to be the structural explanation of the identification of the subclans with defined territories (cf. pp. 342-345). That is, it is the identification of formal units of descent with localities that enables the kinship system to serve as the basis of the formal systematisation and regulation of the interaction of members of residential units. Without this characteristic the kinship system could still serve as a means of systematising the social relationships of individuals as members of elementary families, but it is difficult to see how it could provide the means of continuing and regulating the relations of local groups in the way in which we shall see it does.

The subclan is a local descent group in the sense that it is identified with a locality, not of course that all its members live in the same village; and the formal kinship system as the basis of social organisation is best understood as a system of contractual regulation of interaction between members and representatives of such groups. The fact that typically men of non-owning subclans do reside in each village is less apparently contradictory of the formal rules of residence if it is understood that in doing so they become in effect resident male representatives of their respective subclans and villages as corporate groups, and as we shall see in examining inter-village cluster relations under certain circumstances it becomes politically and otherwise desirable if not essential that they should do so. But in practice most formal kinship relations between resident "strangers" and members of the owning subclan are normally less important as elements in the political and other relations of the kinship and local groups they represent than in the organisation of the village population for economic and other purposes, and in general in the processes of social control in the internal rather than the external relations of local groups.

The Internal Organisation of the Village.

The populations of both subclans and villages constitute corporate groups, but they have essentially different significances in social organisation. As was said on p. 344, it was possible to analyse the formal kinship terminology and system with only incidental reference to local group membership; it would be impossible to analyse the constitution and organisation of local groups except in terms of the formal kinship system. In other words a corporate subclan is a structural unit of social

organisation whereas a corporate local group or village population is a structural unit (cf. pp. 181-183), and the identification of a subclan with a locality gives the latter social significance in essentially the same way that marriage as the medium of establishing contractual relations between corporate subclans has been held to give social significance to the biological sexes.

To the individual Trobriander, his subclan is the corporate group as a member of which he both has and safeguards his position as a member of Trobriand society; his village of residence is the corporate group as a member of which he lives his daily life in the position determined by his membership of a subclan, in the course of which he safeguards and tries to enhance his own interests and position and those of his subclan, with which his own are closely associated. So long as a man resides in the village of his own subclan there is no clash between the interests of his corporate subclan and his corporate village of residence, in as much as they are the same for practical purposes; indeed so long as he remains in the village cluster where his is one of the owning subclans this is largely true also, as we shall see, since the chances are that most of the members of his subclan of both sexes and all ages will be resident in the village cluster, while in his subclan's village only a nucleus of adult males of his subclan will normally be present. As the analysis of subclan distribution and marriage frequencies in Chapter I Part 2 indicates, the individual village, whether simple or joint or a component of a compound village (pp. 32-35), cannot be regarded as an autonomous unit in any respect, least of all politically, and its internal organisation must be considered

as that of a sub-unit or section of a larger autonomous unit, namely the village cluster (51).

From this viewpoint, a single set of relationships between its members serves to organise them as a corporate group for economic, political, jural and ritual purposes; namely, the formal kinship relations of the residents focussed upon the nucleus of members of the owning subclan(s) under the general leadership of the headman as primus inter pares among the other senior men of the subclan and among the other residents. It is possible to refer to the office of headman, in as much as there is always one man who is recognised as the most important individual in the local group, the "real owner" of its lands and its wealth in resources, in virtue of his position as the recognised senior man of the owning, or of the senior owning, subclan associated with the village (52), and in that once a man attains this position he tends to retain it for the remainder of his effective life as a social adult; but the office of headman as such does not endow its holder with anything approaching formal authority to direct and control the activities of other members of his subclan or village. What it does is to increase the holder's power to influence his fellows in essentially the same way that any member of the group can influence others; that is by exercising his influence as a senior over the junior members of his subclan, and his influence over other residents as an important affine or clan kinsman and the leading man of the subclan, upon the consent of the members of which they as "strangers" are dependent for their right to live in and

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(51) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 346-347.

(52) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 345-346.

exploit the resources of the village.

The extent to which a recognised headman can command the submission to his will of the village population depends as much, if not more, upon his personality and ability to manipulate effectively his rights and claims upon others as a senior subclan kinsman or as an affine as upon his position as the recognised headman as such. In other words, the Trobriand subclan and village headman attains and retains his position in much the same way as does the "big man" of so many New Guinea societies, but the position he attains is different in as much as it is more "official" than is that of the "big man"; in the absence of a man of outstanding personality and wealth there may be no "big man" in a given mainland community at a given time, but there is always a recognised headman in a Trobriand village, although he may be a weak or ineffective one in any given case. But the relative lack of effective importance of the office of headman as such is illustrated by the fact that on the whole the village conducts its affairs and maintains its internal organisation almost as well if the headman is weak as if he is strong. The position of a cluster Chief or headman of the senior subclan in the internal organisation of the cluster is in essence comparable to that of the village headman in the village, though the cluster headman has usually the added prestige of relatively high rank and the possession or control of special magical powers of one sort or another to reinforce his power; but, as we shall see, in the external relations of the village cluster the cluster Chief's or headman's position approximates more closely to that of the "big man" than to that of the village headman in the internal organisation of the local group.

Social Control - a. General Considerations.

For the purpose of this analysis social control refers to those aspects of social organisation which are concerned with the maintenance of order within the group and with leadership in its internal and external relationships. Three characteristics of the village are of importance in connection with these processes in general, especially in reference to the absence of functional specialisation of institutions in connection with different aspects of the total processes which in more complex societies might be formally distinguished in the social system and would probably therefore require to be conceptually distinguished in analysis.

The first of these relevant characteristics is the small number of the population of the typical village. As was seen in Chapter II Section 1, the average size of the Trobriand village is probably about 27 households and about 80 inhabitants of whom perhaps a quarter would be adult males, about the same proportion adult females and the remainder dependants, mostly unmarried children but with a few old persons. The villages of the Omarakana cluster range in size from 14-33 households and 49-112 inhabitants, having a total population of only 325 (p. 42), while table 3 reveals that the average population of the owning subclans in the cluster is 26.5 members, ranging from 11 to 53, resident in the cluster. The numbers involved are thus so small that every member of a village old enough to take part in adult life knows every other resident, not only in the village but also in the cluster, personally and in most cases with some degree of intimacy. Within the village, with its very compact dimensions (map 5), life is largely communal, the dwelling houses being used for little more than

sleeping and for shelter in bad weather and illness, and is in many respects comparable to life in the long houses of some New Guinea or Indonesian peoples (53). These characteristics of native life may well be related to the fact that most of the Trobriander's daily activities are conducted in terms of his personal relationships with his fellowvillagers as neighbours and friends, rather than as formal subclan, clan or affinal kin, as was indicated at the beginning of this Chapter pp. 346-348.

Associated with this is the close personal interdependence of the members of the village upon each other, for help in work on other than organised cooperative occasions, for support and help in adversity and emergencies, and especially for mutual support in olden times in warfare and still today in the brawls and minor clashes that tend to break out on public occasions or over girls and so forth. The intimacy of life in the village and to a considerable degree also in the village cluster probably renders the elaboration of institutions and specific techniques of social control unnecessary. Leadership and organisation in daily interaction emerges naturally where required from the interplay of personalities, and deliberate evasion of responsibilities or commission of offences whether against individuals or against groups is not easy where everyone's personality, activities and even movements almost from hour to hour are well known to everyone else or to somebody or other. Under ordinary circumstances therefore the maintenance of order in the village and of cooperation and conformity to responsibilities and so on are effectively ensured by the

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(53) Cf. Malinowski 1922 p. 36, 1929 pp. 14-15.

operation of diffuse social sanctions in Radcliffe-Brown's terminology; by the desire and need for the approval, and by fear of the disapproval or ridicule, of friends and neighbours, and underlying these by the knowledge that each man depends upon the rest and that the extent to which he can expect their support depends on his conformity with their standards and his consideration of their interests, as individuals and as a group, in pursuing his own.

The third consideration to be borne in mind is that the village is in many respects not an autonomous unit, as has been indicated. Members of its owning subclan(s) live in other villages of the cluster, and in as much as their status and interests are in part bound up with their membership of the corporate subclan they are interested and have a right to intervene in the internal affairs of their subclan's village should developments within it make this appear advisable. Similarly some members of the population of a village are "owners" in other villages of the cluster, and have interests and rights to intervene in the conduct of their affairs; while the lubou relationship, especially in the case of individuals of importance, gives the husband particularly and the wife's brother to a lesser extent interests in the affine's subclan's affairs and consequently in those of its village. Hence by far the greater part of the residents of a village have interests in other villages of the cluster and the right to intervene in their affairs, and not a few have interests and rights in villages of other clusters. Nor are these only nominal interests and rights of intervention, since the villages of the cluster are spatially close together, and contacts between residents in them are fairly intensive and continuous. The average man

appears to visit one other village of the cluster in which he has interests of one sort or another at least every second day, and often five days out of seven, while less intensive relations are kept up with villages of adjacent clusters also, in as much as most men have some subclan kin or affines resident in them even though they may not be one anothers' personal lubou or "brothers" etc.

Thus although both local village and local descent groups are so small, their members have fairly close personal relationships with a much wider range of people, and have the right to intervene in the affairs of many of them; while it must be remembered that, as was pointed out on pp. 36-39, the distances are so small and movement physically so easy throughout the greater part of Kiriwina Island that the populations of village clusters, let alone villages, are by no means isolated, but tend to have economic and political relationships with some at least of the more distant as well as with adjacent village clusters, while in any given village the chances are that between them the adults will have visited and have personal friends or kin in all the villages of Northern and many of those of Southern Kiriwina Island, and in a few of those on other Islands of the group also in addition to Kula partners. The Northern Kiriwinan's effective social relationships thus extend to the whole of the Island and its population of 5,000 odd, many of whom are unknown to him personally though he tends to know a few in each district; and this may to some extent complicate the processes of social control in each village, since some at least of its members are owners of relatively distant villages, while others have friends or kin in districts out of the effective range of its influence as a corporate group, and could

to some extent evade the consequences of non-conformity or non-cooperation with their residential village groups, and perhaps the results of some serious offences, by flight to other villages where they have rights of ownership, kin or friends. These considerations, together with the lack of autonomy of individual villages already discussed, may explain both the existence of a degree of systematisation of social interaction by formal kinship, and the restriction of institutions of systematisation to this single one which provides the basis of all necessary formal interaction, on the hypothesis that the total population is too numerous and too dense and that its component groups interact too intensively to allow personal relationships to provide an adequate basis for all social interaction, while neither the total population nor its component units are so large, nor the social interaction of its members so diversified and intensive, as to make necessary or advantageous the elaboration of formal kinship into, or its replacement by, functionally diversified systems or institutions relating to different aspects of social interaction (54).

b. Maintenance of Law and Order.

As already indicated, there operate in the Kiriwinan village diffuse or unorganised social sanctions which are highly effective in the context of native life in maintaining order and conformity to norms and ideals of behaviour, as such sanctions tend typically to be in other small scale and homogeneous communities. The impression of a society the members of which have the primary aim of evading its rules and mores, and who are restrained

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(54) Cf. Fortes 1953 pp. 17-42.

from doing so only by the presence of strong external deterrents, that may be derived from Malinowski's Crime and Custom in Savage Society in particular and from passages in others of his writings also, is to my mind overdrawn, and derives from an incidental aim and tendency of the work. This is to emphasise the individuality and disunity of members of descent groups in primitive society in refutation of emphases on the subordination of the members to the group current in the works of some of his predecessors and contemporaries (55). This aim of course parallels that which conditions his analyses of kinship, namely the desire to prove the individuality as against the communal nature of marriage and elementary family relationships in refutation of theories such as those of Morgan and his followers concerning the evolution of the institution of marriage. As in the case of Sex and Repression, however, it is not the present intention to examine the argument of Crime and Custom in detail, but rather to relate the present analysis to it.

My own impression is that, bearing in mind the relativity of ingroup and outgroup morality characteristic of small scale groups, the Trobriander is no more and no less inclined to exploit his neighbours and his society to his own advantage where he can than anyone else, but that by and large the nature of the community in which he lives if anything reduces his chances of successfully committing antisocial acts in comparison with the opportunities open to members of largescale complex groups. There is in Trobriand philosophy no conception of absolute right and wrong, nor are there specific

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(55) Cf. Malinowski 1926 pp. 3-5, and passim.

acts which are always regarded as absolutely good or bad; behaviour is evaluated in the context of existing relationships between and in the light of the aims and interests of those affected by it. Subject to European influences the Trobriander is normally unaware of alternative codes of conduct that might apply to himself, and even in 1950 after 50 years of such influences his practical morality appeared untouched by them, as we shall see in Section 6. . The major problem of social control is less how to ensure conformity to laws or standards in a situation in which an individual feels that he may stand a good chance of evading the consequences of social disapproval if he breaks them for any reason, than how to reconcile legitimate but conflicting claims between individual members of groups acting in their own interests and as representatives of the groups. Accordingly there are no special mechanisms to deal with antisocial behaviour as such, but when it occurs, as of course it does, the problems created, by theft, murder, adultery etc., are handled by the same techniques and with essentially the same aims as those employed in the adjustment of normal and "legitimate" friction or rivalry between members and representatives of groups; namely through the channels of formal kinship and marriage as these serve to organise intra- and inter- kinship and local group relations with the general aim of reconciling conflicting claims wherever this is desirable. The incentive to achieve adjustments of these kinds is strongest among members of corporate subclans and village groups, and within the village cluster provided it is well integrated under adequate leadership; the extent to which efforts are made to such ends and the success theywill meet in inter-village cluster relations depends on the

existence and the importance of formal relationships between members of the groups affected.

"Shame" as a Sanction.

Within the village however members are very strongly motivated to observe accepted codes and standards in their own interests by their mutual interdependence, of which reciprocity in the sense of obligatory exchanges of gifts and services etc. may be held to be an expression rather than a cause, although of course the existence of specific reciprocal claims and obligations between members of a corporate kin or local group reinforces their general solidarity of interests vis-a-vis non-members (56). This sense of solidarity may be detected in the typically strong need for public approval and prestige (butura) and the correspondingly strong fear of disapproval or ridicule, internalised in a strongly developed sense of shame, which is sensitive both to one's own and to others' behaviour. The typical first response to any question about a Kiriwinan's motives in refraining from a particular action is "Pela agumwasila", which according to context could be translated "Because I should be ashamed, embarrassed, disgraced, ridiculed etc." regardless of whether he were to be found out or not (57). This sense of shame is however relative; e.g. a man would be ashamed to steal yams from a kinsman or neighbour whether he were detected or not, but he would be shamed by stealing from a resident of another village with which his own or his subclan had formal relations only if he were detected, while in stealing from any other village he would run

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(56) Cf. esp. Malinowski 1926 Part I IX.

(57) Malinowski 1929 V. index s.v. Shame.

the risk of a beating or other retaliation if found out, but would be supported by his own people and would hardly be shamed in the proper sense.

Within the corporate village and among subclan kin the sense of shame provides the basis of probably the most effective negative, as the desire for prestige or honour provides the most effective positive, sanctions. Minor misdemeanours are penalised by more or less intense spontaneous expressions of public disapproval or ridicule or both. More serious offences, e.g. persistent laziness or refusal to take a full part in communal activities such as fencing garden sites or, nowadays, working on the roads or in the village on the Administration appointed day for such tasks; or petty dishonesty, such as "finding" and not returning others' property, displays of ill temper or brawling with neighbours and so forth, may result in a public reprobation, delivered by the most recently or most persistently injured member of the group as its self-appointed spokesman, approved by the others and formally endorsed more or less forcefully by the headman. Such a yakala or kakayuwa (58) occurred in Tilakaiwa late in 1950, its immediate occasion being the cutting down of a banana palm belonging to Daibuna the heir designate of the village headman Momumadoga by Daibuna's younger brother Tomiyala, when he was clearing land marginal to the village grove for his new subsidiary garden. Tomiyala is an amiable young man, married to a woman considerably bigger than himself, and handicapped by a withered leg which reduces his efficiency, and certainly his enthusiasm, in gardening. He much prefers fishing, canoebuilding and

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(58) Malinowski 1929 p. 408.

sailing for which of course he has little opportunity. Daibuna is an ambitious older man, who takes himself and his responsibilities rather embarrassingly seriously, but pleasant enough otherwise though he lacks much sense of humour, with which Tomiyala is plentifully endowed, perhaps fortunately for himself.

The evening of the day when the palm tree was cut down saw most of the villagers having their evening meal and gossiping outside their huts as usual, when suddenly Daibuna, standing forward in the light of the cooking fire outside his hut, called out Tomiyala's name in a loud voice, repeating it until everyone was listening. Then he reproved Tomiyala for removing the palm tree, claiming he was wrong to do so and calling everyone to witness that he, Daibuna, had planted it. Tomiyala after a while replied from the shelter of his verandah that it was an old tree and in his way, and he didn't think anyone wanted it; to which Daibuna replied that he should have asked, and that this was typical of Tomiyala's general laxness and disregard of form. He went on to reprove Tomiyala for laziness in general and especially in gardening, saying that he was later than everyone else and less thorough in making his new garden, that he was letting down his subclan seniors and his affines, and generally not pulling his weight in his village or his subclan's affairs. His remarks took the form of an increasingly emotional diatribe, punctuated by protesting interjections from Tomiyala which became progressively fainter and finally faded out as Daibuna continued, and accompanied by an obbligato of comments, of approval in most cases, from the others present, while their mother's brother Touladoga, the garden magician, endorsed the criticism of Tomiyala's gardening.

Monumadoga, the headman took no part in the general comments, but after Daibuna had finished and there was once more comparative stillness over the village, Monumadoga called out to Tomiyala endorsing what Daibuna had said, and pointing out that the others present had agreed with him. He told Tomiyala in effect to mend his ways in general, and to make over one of his own banana palms to Daibuna in compensation for the loss of the latter's bananas and as a reminder of the occasion. He also told Daibuna that he thought he was partly to blame in the matter of the tree, in as much as he did not warn Tomiyala of its presence on the plot which Daibuna knew Tomiyala was to clear, and ask him not to cut it down. The next day Tomiyala stayed in the village, emerging from his hut only to come to seek a smoke from me when everyone else had gone to the gardens; he was, he told me, too "shamed" to work that day, but proposed to make up for it and his past remissness, which he admitted, in the future. He said that the cutting down of Daibuna's tree was only the excuse Daibuna had been waiting for to reprove Tomiyala for his other faults, the tree itself being valueless because of its age, but he accepted the loss of his own young tree as a just penalty for his general faults. He did indeed show a notable industry for two or three weeks, but being a resilient character thereafter began to slip back into his former ways, and when I once commented on this replied to the effect that hard work in the gardens was fine if you enjoyed it or were ambitious to make a name for yourself, like Daibuna, but that he, Tomiyala, was neither, and would be glad when the Kula season came round again. Daibuna, he added, was usually seasick in a canoe.

This was a typical case, in which Daibuna acted as a spokesman for the

village and its owning subclan as well as in the process venting his own grievance, while the remainder of the village listened and expressed their views in comments and interjections. Normally as in this case the headman acts as a chairman, as it were, taking no part in the argument unless he is personally involved in the matters discussed, but summing up each party's case at the end and delivering a final pronouncement in the light of the reactions of other members of the village who have listened to and taken part in the argument. His final pronouncement takes the form of an injunction to adjust the matter in what seems to him an equitable manner, and it is binding unless either party is dissatisfied to the point of refusal to comply with it, when it will be raised again either in the same way or by the senior men of the village in council. Anyone who is dissatisfied in such a case may delay making any restitution required in the hope that in time he may be able to influence public opinion in his favour before the matter is raised again, but an outright refusal to comply with a headman's injunction delivered under such circumstances leads to more serious action being taken against the refuser sooner or later.

Ceremonial Expulsion.

Such action may take the form of a physical attack by the offended upon the offending individual, in which he will have the backing of senior men of the corporate village and its owning subclan. This form of self help is the usual first reaction to really serious wrongdoing, e.g. thefts of garden produce (veilau), adultery (kailasi) or homicide (59), further

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(59) Cf. Malinowski 1926 and 1929, indices sv. Theft, murder etc.

action taken depending on the relationship between the offending and the injured persons. In the case of sexual offences, members of more than one subclan are always involved if either party is married, but sexual intercourse between unmarried members of a subclan, or adultery committed with the spouse of a member of one's own subclan, and other serious offences committed between its members where other parties are not involved, seem in pre-European times usually to have resulted in ceremonial suicide (60), committed either spontaneously by the guilty party, or as the result of a serious and perhaps repeated "shaming" yakala or kakayuwa as already described. According to informants, serious or persistent offenders against the interests of their own subclans, who came to be regarded as social liabilities to it, could be ceremonially expelled from it in a yoba ceremony similar to that described by Malinowski in Sexual Life, Chapter I, pp. 11-12. As between subclan kin such a ceremonial expulsion from the village would be tantamount to expulsion from society, and would inevitably result in the suicide of the person expelled, who would forfeit his position in society altogether in losing his position as a member of his subclan; but no actual cases could be remembered, though informants had "heard" of it happening in other parts of the Island.

The yoba is much more often employed in fact to get rid of undesirable "stranger" residents in a village. Such cases occurred twice in villages of Kiriwina district during my period of field work, one of my cookboy's subclan "brothers" being expelled in this way for suspected adultery with

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(60) Cf. Malinowski esp. 1926 pp. 94-98.

the wife of a member of the owning subclan of his village of residence, and seeking and obtaining admission to the village of Omarakana in virtue of the fact of my cookboy's residence there, though they were "owners" of a village in Tilataula. The procedure in such cases is as described by Malinowski, and refusal to comply with the formal expulsion was quite unthinkable to my informants, who held unanimously that a man so expelled would be too "shamed" ever to show his face in the village again whatever the rights or wrongs of the case. If he felt himself geminely wronged, however, he might seek the help of his kin in reinstating himself, and might have recourse to a non-fatal form of "suicide" to convince them of his innocence; but effective intervention would not be possible if their village were distant from that from which their kinsman was expelled. A man would not however deliberately kill himself after expulsion from his village of residence unless he had in fact committed so heinous an offence that he could never expect to live it down.

Ceremonial Suicide.

Deliberate self-destruction never, in the opinion of informants, occurs unless the individual has actually done wrong; a false accusation will provoke righteous anger, not suicide. This, whether actual or only attempted, is from one viewpoint as Malinowski has said an act of both expiation and of retaliation against those, kin or others, who have in effect decreed the suicide's self-execution (61). It also affords an escape from an intolerable situation, not only as Malinowski said for the individual (62), but also for

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(61) 1926 pp. 77-79, 97.

(62) Ibid. pp. 94-95.

his corporate subclan, for by his suicide the subclan is relieved of the need to expel, in effect to kill, one of its own members, an action no more easily undertaken than the cutting off of one's own limb, and likely to affect adversely the unity and solidarity of the remaining members. Such suicide is also the result of the acuteness of the sense of shame or guilt aroused by public reprobation for offences against the subclan, and the strength of the emotion is best understood as the result of the feeling that in offending against one's subclan one offends oneself, while the "intolerable" psychological situation from which the only escape is self destruction is a result of the individual's identification of himself with his corporate subclan. In less serious offences an attempt at suicide is enough to expiate the sense and the fact of guilt, and the offender is normally reinstated in his position in the subclan after it. In cases serious enough to result in suicide, attempted or real, there is usually no attempt to make the offender compensate an injured subclan kinsman formally, since the offence is felt to be too serious for material compensation, involving as it does members of the same corporate descent group; but an individual who expiates his sin in an attempted suicide may offer voluntary compensation as further evidence of repentance in the process of reinstating himself.

Compensation and Restitution.

Where members of different subclans are concerned, however, once the initial phase of the reaction by physical retaliation is past the matter is adjusted by compensation and/or restitution provided the relationship between the two subclans and the local groups concerned is close enough to

result in adequate motivation to achieve a compromise on either side. This is usually the case where the offence involves members of subclans with joint rights of ownership in the same village, or of subclans with rights of ownership in compound villages or in the same village cluster. The matter is usually adjusted at a formal meeting (kayaku - 63) called by the headman of the subclan of the injured party and attended by the headman or his representative of the offender's subclan, other senior members and affines and many other members of the local group(s) concerned. The individuals directly involved on both sides present their cases first, partisans support them and the senior men present reach an agreement which is then formally pronounced by the headman of the offended subclan and agreed to by the headman of the other. At least this is what should happen, and does in a reasonable percentage of cases; but such a kayaku has something of the character of a yakala, indeed the terms are sometimes used as synonyms, since, though the occasion is intended to restore friendly relations, the normal debating technique consists in attempts to damage each other's reputation, as much as to prove the cases, though the value of evidence, usually circumstantial, is usually fully appreciated and taken into consideration. Feelings however often run high, and really serious cases may lead to fighting even between members of closely associated subclans or local groups in a village cluster, unless the matter is referred to the cluster headman or Chief as will be discussed in the next Section. But if brawls develop between the parties in such circumstances, every effort is

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(63) Malinowski 1935 II index s.v. kayaku esp. p. 19.

made by others present, especially by senior men of their own subclans, to avoid serious injuries or death being inflicted in order to avoid a yet more serious breach in local group solidarity.

The position of a stranger whose subclan owns a distant village neither in the same village cluster nor in the neighbourhood of his village of residence differs from that of residents who are owners of the village, of other villages of the cluster or of neighbouring villages. In the event of his being involved in a dispute he normally cannot rely on the intervention of his subclan kin unless the dispute directly affects the prestige or interests of their subclan; certainly they will not be in a position to assist him in the initial self help stage of the reaction to the offence. As we saw in the case of the accusation of sorcery against Negidageda, (pp. 110-111), a man in such a position must rely immediately upon the support of the members of his village of residence, especially of its owning subclan, which he can claim as their dependant, or as it were "client", clan or affinal kinsman. If he is a valued member of the community support will be forthcoming, as in Negidageda's case; if not, or if it appears that by supporting his the owning subclan's corporate interests and important relationships with the other corporate groups of the cluster will be damaged, support will be withheld, and if the offence is serious the offender may be ceremonially expelled.

<u>The Use of Sorcery</u>.

Threats of sorcery, whether followed up by practice or not, are not frequently employed in the maintenance of order within villages, and never occur legitimately, so far as I am aware, within the subclan, but occasionally

it is hinted informally to a resident stranger that unless he mends some aspect of his ways he may fall ill, or his crops suffer, and so on. If such a threat is made, it is communicated to the individual usually in the course of a yakala public reprobation by another resident in the village than the headman, but the latter's acquiescence in the threat is sufficiently manifest if he does not reprove the speaker for making it. The threat of sorcery as a sanction is however more characteristically employed by cluster headmen or Chiefs against socially recalcitrant members of other subclans than their own, as we shall see, and so long as it is made publicly by a senior member of the de facto cluster council with the tacit consent of the Chief and others present it is regarded as a right and proper procedure, and is distinguished from the use of sorcery for personal ends whether by Chiefs or others (64). This is held by informants to be rare amongst subclan kin, and I heard of no such cases in 1950-51; should it be learnt that anyone had employed a sorcerer in such a way the result I was assured would be his suicide, while the sorcerer who allowed himself to be persuaded into helping a client to perform so sinful a deed would forfeit his reputation and run the risk of being killed himself. I was told that a case occurred in the owning subclan of Mwadoia village a couple of years before my arrival in Kiriwina in which the local sorcerer was tricked by one man of the subclan into causing the illness of another, his mothers' brother. The sorcerer was under the impression that his help was being sought against another man who was a "stranger" in the village and not

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(64) Cf. Malinowski 1926 p. 86.

highly thought of by other residents, and when he discovered that his power was in fact being employed against his client's own subclan kinsman he "neutralised" the spell cast upon the victim and turned his powers against his original client, who died. This was apparently regarded as a creditable reaction on the part of the sorcerer by the dead man's subclan kin, and as a just retribution upon the sister's son for employing sorcery against his mother's brother. His death also of course relieved the subclan of the necessity of taking drastic action against one of its members.

The "illegal" use of sorcery is believed to be much more common among affines, and this is related to the friction and rivalry that tends to characterise the lubou or equivalent relationships (pp. 367-370). The reaction to such cases where they are definitely discovered varies as does that to other very serious offences according to the relationships of the parties concerned members of owning subclans or residents in the same village, the same village cluster or in different village clusters. In the first case every effort would be made to compose the breach by compensation, or if the offender were a "stranger" he might be formally expelled from the village and have a sorcerer employed against him in turn by the kin of the dead person, unless they killed him first in the heat of their first reaction to the death of their kinsman. In the second case also efforts would be made at reconciling the parties by the leading men of the subclans and a complete breach between them would probably be avoided; but in the last case the result might be the breaking off at least for a time of normal relationships between the subclans and villages concerned, and a temporary state of vendetta between them which would be terminated the

sooner the more important were the normal relationships, manifest in the kinship links, between the groups concerned and the stronger their interests in resuming their normal relationships.

Physical Retaliation.

Like sorcery, physical retaliation, including killing, is normally instigated as an organised sanction only by cluster headmen or Chiefs. As Malinowski has said, deliberate murder is rare within the village cluster; where residents kill one another it is normally more or less accidentally in brawls, or in fits of rage as when a man catches his wife and her lover in flagrante (65). If such killings involve very close kin, the killer may commit suicide in shame and remorse, and again this reaction would be most likely when the victim was a member of the killer's subclan. Were they members of different subclans, the killer would probably be wounded or killed in immediate retaliation by the dead man's kinsmen, when the matter would be felt to be closed, except that each subclan would probably make conspicuous contributions to the mortuary rites for the dead men - thereby incurring the risk of a further flaring up of mutual resentment. But once the matter had been "squared", an English word which the Kiriwinans often use synonymously with their own term mapu in reference to the adjustment of disputes by restitution, compensation or by an equivalent act of retaliation, every effort would be made by the leaders and representatives of other kinship and local groups concerned in their relationships, especially the cluster Chief, to prevent a further disruption of their interests and

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(65) Cf. 1926 pp. 116-118.

solidarity by further fighting between the kin of the dead men.

Corporate Group Responsibility.

In the reactions to offences of any kind as outlined above, the two aspects of punishment of the offender and readjustment of the relationships between the individuals and groups affected by the offence may be distinguished conceptually, though in practice the same reaction may combine them both. Where the offence is committed within the individual's own kin and local group, in circumstances which make it "sinful" in the sense of an offence against his corporate subclan particularly and his corporate local group to a certain extent, so that the wrong is felt as against himself and arouses his sense of "shame" strongly, the punishment tends to be self-inflicted in the form of actual or attempted suicide, which relieves the group of the need to take strong action against one of its own members and thereby risk further disruption of its solidarity, and which at the same time serves as an act of repentance of expiation. The making of restitution or of compensation within the subclan or the village is not emphasised, except in minor offences such as that of Tomiyala, and this is understandable in as much as the material resources and wealth of most individuals are small, so that a large payment of native valuables or foodstuffs is made up of contributions from subclan kin, affines and friends. That is, the subclan or local group is in effect corporately responsible for the behaviour of its members, and must contribute to, and shares in, any compensation they must make or receive. To attempt significant compensation or restitution in the case of a major internal offence would therefore amount to the kin or local group collectively compensating itself, which of course it could

hardly do in practice.

Where the offence concerns members of different subclans and villages in the same cluster, the tendency is for punishment to be inflicted by the offended party rather than to be selfinflicted, since the sense of "shame" is less and the harm done to the solidarity of the cluster by retaliation of a violent kind against its members as such is less than that done to subclan or village solidarity by such retaliation between their members. On the other hand greater emphasis is placed on restitution and compensation, which has the significance of a collective penalising of the offender's subclan and village and a collective recompense to those of the offended whereby the harm done by the offence to their relationships as components of the village cluster is made good; as we shall see the cluster headman or Chief may intervene where necessary to ensure that the damage is made good. Where an offence occurs between members of different clusters, the reaction is the same as that between corporate groups in the same cluster in so far as the clusters have close economic or political relationships with each other and are linked by clan or kinship ties in reference to which the offence can be adjusted. If no such relationships and links exist, the offence if serious may result in brawling or the issuing of a challenge, such as the buritilaulo, to a competition to establish their relative prestige and power, which itself may lead to fighting (66). Nowadays, owing to the Administration's interference in and ban on open warfare, such fighting would be more or less limited to desultory and opportunist brawling

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(66) Malinowski 1935 I pp. 176-181.

with nonlethal weapons, as happened in a number of cases during 1950-51; but in olden times there might have been open and continuing hostility, raiding with destruction of property and loss of life, or a vendetta (67), unless a powerful Chief intervened to stop it or circumstances arose in which it became in the interests of the parties to the quarrel to make peace themselves. However minor a dispute between members of different village clusters initially, there was and is always the risk of its "snowballing" into a major one through more serious quarrels arising out of the very attempts to compose the original one.

Thus the reaction to breaches of law and order varies according to the relationships between those involved in them as members of local groups as well as of subclans. But the formal relationships in respect of which both subclan and village act as corporate groups in dealing with such breaches are the same, namely those of kinship, in respect of which the village no less than the subclan are held to be structured. In so far as the reaction to such a breach is organised, both in dealing with the offender and in closing the "gap" caused in social relations resulting from his action, it is organised within the village in reference to the formal relations of its members as subclan kin and affines, the right of head and senior men to organise such a reaction or of individual members to institute it deriving from these relationships not from their membership of the local group as such. Similarly when a breach of law and order involves members of owning subclans in different villages of the cluster, the corporate groups to which their actions relate are primarily their subclans, co-residents in their

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(67) Malinowski 1927 Index s.v. Vendetta.

villages being involved as clan or affinal kin of the owning subclans, while the subclan owning the village of residence of the individuals concerned is drawn into the affair in virtue of their responsibility for the residents in their villages who are their dependants as their clan or affinal kin.

When the subclans of individuals involved in a breach own villages other than those in the cluster, their ability to intervene on their members' behalf is restricted to a degree by their spatial distance, and the importance of the support of the village of residence and particularly that of its owning subclan and headman are correspondingly more immediately significant. The final reaction to serious breaches, after the initial retaliatory self-help aroused in those injured by its commission during which alone the offender is likely to be killed, is expulsion of the individual from the group offended; in the case of the member of a subclan this usually takes the form of suicide, which may be the result of actions committed against non-members no less than against members if the harm done by these actions to the good name (butura) and the material interests of the offender's subclan is sufficiently serious, in as much as the subclan bears a corporate responsibility for its members' conduct, as is apparent in the collective responsibility to make and right to receive compensation or restitution. Where strangers offend seriously against the owning subclan of their village of residence expulsion takes the form of the yoba rather than of guilt-induced suicide.

The social reaction is only partly conditioned by the nature of an offence; a minor insult or other offence may provoke a violent retaliation under aggravating circumstances, e.g. if it came as the culmination of a

series of minor wrongs or insults, when under other circumstances it might be treated as a poor joke. The organised reactions of corporate groups to any given type of offence varies similarly according to circumstances, particularly the extent to which it is desirable to subordinate the desire for retaliation to the need to preserve and restore the previous relationship between the parties. Amounts of compensation and restitution are conditioned by these considerations, while whether they are in fact sought or obtained depends on the closeness or the absence of socially significant ties between the parties. The persons who take the lead in organising both the application of sanctions and the readjustment of social relationships in the event of breaches of law and order are those who lead in the organisation of subclan and village affairs in other contexts, and the processes of organised maintenance of law and order are bound up with formal organisation and the processes of leadership in general, which are functions of the formal kinship relations of local group members.

c. Formal Leadership.

A personal and a formal aspect may be distinguished in leadership as in kinship relations and in reaction to breaches of law and order, although as in any other type of behaviour both aspects are present in any act of leadership in practice. The personal aspect of leadership may be said to derive from the interplay of character and personality in any dyadic interaction as a result of which one or other participant tends to initiate action more frequently or more effectively than the rest. Leadership in this sense is to be found in any situation, and may be regarded as a universal element in social behaviour. What is characteristic of given

societies is the system of formal leadership, and it is with this that we are principally concerned here in considering Trobriand social organisation.

Formal leadership can be defined as the result of the systematisation of personal leadership by its association with positional super- and subordination in the formal relationships of kinship. That is, a man attains a position of superordination in the kinship system by the exercise of initiative and ability in recognised spheres of action provided he qualifies formally for the position; if he is not qualified, he cannot attain the formal position no matter what personal qualities he may possess. On the other hand, a man who is formally qualified to attain a position of superordination will not do so unless he also possesses the requisite personal qualities of initiative ability and so on. There is thus no strict genealogical succession to the leadership of corporate kinship or local groups, except that within the local group formal leadership is restricted to members of the owning subclan or, in the case of joint or compound villages, the senior owning subclan of the village (68). Within the subclan the recognised formal leader must be qualified by having attained a reasonable seniority in age and in terms of effective social generation membership as manifested in the structural importance of his affinal relationships, while he must also be a resident of the village owned by his subclan. No "stranger" citizen can ever become the formal leader of a village or village cluster, therefore, however great the personal influence he may achieve informally; and no member of the owning

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(68) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I. pp. 346-350.

subclan can become its and its village's formal leader or headman unless he attains this position by the exercise of qualities which enable him personally to influence and direct his fellows.

Succession to the Headmanship.

Succession to a subclan and village headmanship is thus best understood as a process of elimination and selection of the formally qualified candidates of the junior living generation of the subclan. The process is partly incidental to the ordinary daily life of the members of the subclan and its village, during which character and temperament and ability is revealed and assessed in the conduct of the possible successors. Genealogical seniority has some significance in the earlier stage of the process, which begins in fact as soon as a new headman succeeds his predecessor, although the importance of deciding on the new headman's successor is not immediately great but becomes increasingly so as he ages, or should he become ill. The significance of genealogical seniority derives rather from its correlation with physical seniority, and hence maturity and experience, rather than from any formal significance of strict adelphic or lineal succession as such. As already noted, it is of considerable importance to maintain continuity in the most important affinal contractual relationships of the corporate subclan which are normally those of the headman, and from this viewpoint the best successor is a man who is old enough to have maturity and experience but not so old that if he succeeds it is likely that his tenure of office will be short. The position of Daibuna, the heir designate, or accepted successor, to the present headman of Tilakaiwa village, in the genealogy of the Lobwaita subclan is not that of the senior member of his generation,

while there are living brothers, both uterine and classificatory, of the present headman Monumadoga, who should be the heirs designate in preference to Daibuna were there any great significance attached to adelphic succession in itself. Momumadoga himself is not for that matter the most senior member of the subclan, either in age or genealogically, being junior in these respects to two living men, Motaipu and Benoni.

Amongst his contemporaries in the subclan, Daibuna was singled out because of his industry in gardening, his ability to organise cooperative work, and his assiduity in fulfilling his duties in gardening initially for his sister, and later for Momumadoga as his mother's brother. In particular Daibuna's readiness to undertake responsibilities appears greater than that of most of his contemporaries, and this and other evidence suggests that, as Tomiyala and others hinted, he is more than ordinarily ambitious and eager for a measure of power. In 1950 Daibuna had been advanced, as it were, from gardening for his mother's brother Monumadoga, the headman of his subclan, as an indirect contribution to the subclan's urigubu presentations to the Chief of the cluster who is the husband of Daibuna's formal sister Kadumiyu, to gardening directly for the Chief himself. This was at the same time evidence of Daibuna's readiness to undertake responsibilities on behalf of the subclan and a reward for this virtue, which had resulted also in his acquisition of more than the usual number of garden plots and palm trees for a man of his age. This in itself was further evidence of his assiduity in making gifts and services to his subclan seniors, including not only Monumadoga the headman but also his brother Touladoga the garden magician and others of their generation. Some

of the services rendered were specifically acts of pokala made with the object of securing property, while others included both his undertaking to garden for Mitakata and before that Momumadoga, and his having taken to live with him in his household their aged formal mother's brother Tonupoi, who died late in 1951. These services also counted as pokala from the viewpoint of their significance as further evidence of Daibuna's respect for and willingness to associate himself with his seniors in the fulfilment of their responsibilities. The net result of all this was Daibuna's emergence and acceptance by his contemporaries as well as his seniors as the obvious and, at any rate at that time, the unquestioned successor to Momumadoga.

There happened however in this case to be no particular competition for the succession, the other men of Daibuna's generation of the subclan being not apparently particularly ambitious. The position of headman of a commoner subclan tends in any case to confer as many burdens as privileges upon the holder, who has higher prestige and more wealth and power than other members of his subclan and village, provided no one of higher rank than himself is resident in it who might compete with him (69), but normally as a commoner can have no more than one or two wives. He has to garden for his subclan's most important affine himself, and is expected to make generous contributions to mortuary rites, to feed workers in cooperative gardening and other enterprises he initiates as headman, and so forth; but unlike the headman of a senior subclan in a joint or compound village, or

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(69) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I p. 363.

particularly the headman of the leading subclan of the cluster, he has no relatively wide range of wives' kinsmen to garden for him and support him in other ways. Monumadoga the Tilakaiwa headman openly admitted to being ready to have Daibuna take over the effective headmanship from him as soon as possible, and was in fact gradually delegating his responsibilities to the younger man; it was for instance Daibuna who initiated and organised the building of the new Kula canoe for his subclan in the 1950-51 season. Monumadoga's ill health, to which allusion has already been made (p. 110), may indeed have been partly due to his inability to cope with his responsibilities as headman, according to some of his fellow-villagers.

The headmanship of senior subclans in joint or compound villages, and especially that of the leading subclan of the cluster, offers much greater opportunities to acquire wealth and power to the personally ambitious, and hence tends to arouse keener rivalry amongst possible successors. Moreover the succession in such cases tends to be affected by rivalries between subclans associated as owners of the same village or in the same cluster, so that factions often develop supporting the claims of rival successors against one another. This factor is absent in the case of the simple village, although to some extent factional rivalries may develop between members of the same subclan from their ties with and interests in the villages in which they live; but if this occurs it is likely to be the result of the existence within the cluster of strong factions in which the owning subclans of the various village are lined up against each other. In the absence of such situations rivalry over the succession to commoner headmen is not normally so intense as to cause disruption of the internal

solidarity of the subclan; but the succession to the headmanship of such a subclan as the Tabalu of Omarakana tends always to involve major political issues. These result in the support of one or other possible successor by different alignments of the Chief's affines in other village clusters as well as of members of his own cluster, and in olden times appear to have led not infrequently to fighting between rivals and their supporters even before the death of their predecessor. It is popularly believed also that the successful aspirant to such a headmanship would consolidate his position by killing off his surviving rivals by poison or by sorcery. The succession to the cluster headmanship is however a matter of cluster as much as of village organisation, and is further considered in the next Section.

Mechanisms of Formal Leadership.

Having then gained more or less general recognition as the next headman of his subclan and its village as indicated above, a man either assumes the responsibilities and privileges of the office after the death of his predecessor, or gradually relieves him of them during his lifetime as the older man becomes older and less able adequately to discharge them. In neither case is there a ceremonial installation or inauguration of the new headman; his appearance as the organiser and "master" of his subclan's and village's communal enterprises and so on serves to make his accession public and official. Chiefs however are expected to organise a public festival of some sort, e.g. in connection with dancing or harvesting or, nowadays, cricketing, some time after their accession, when they have begun to extend their influence and consolidate their position by the acquisition of wives from their supporters and neighbours. Such festivals have

counterparts in the careers of the mainland "big man", and from one viewpoint may be regarded as "feasts of merit" and are organised by all notable leaders from time to time during their careers, but not normally by headmen of commoner subclans of only local importance (70).

Bearing in mind the average size of the subclan, the new headman's position will be that of primus in a senior generation of some six to a dozen men who are generally speaking his equals in as much as they will have attained a degree of importance in virtue of their age, experience, acquisition of property by pokala and in respect of their affinal relationships especially in the affairs of the subclan and village. Some of them may have as much influence over their juniors in terms of personality as the new headman, especially if he is a youngish man; but his position as the titular owner and controller of the subclan's land, magic and other resources not already distributed to one or other of the members, as the organiser and "master" of the village's corporate activities, including gardening, and as its most important representative in its external relationships as the brother-in-law of the cluster headman, gives him greater influence, provided that he is able to use these advantages properly. As the headman and gardener for the subclan's most important affine he can claim the assistance of the other members, and himself receives more than they from his wife's or wives' kinsmen, upon whom he has more effective claims also for urigubu services than the other members of the subclan can exert on theirs. He is thus normally in direct control of more wealth than

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(70) Cf. Malinowski 1929 and 1935 I indices s.v. Kayasa.

other members of the subclan, and can command the services of more men than can they individually, while non-owner residents in the village derive their right to live in it and exploit its resources directly or indirectly from him, so that they as well as, or even more than, his subclan kin must pay heed to his wishes and comply with his direction of group activities, e.g. as members of the gardening team (71).

The headman's most important functions may be listed as:

1. To act on behalf of the corporate groups he represents in the maintenance of law and order in his village, as we saw above;

2. To act on their behalf as the organiser and instigator of cooperative or communal enterprises, especially economic, as in the organisation of gardening or of mortuary rites;

3. To act as the representative of his subclan and village in their relationships as corporate groups with other like groups.

4. To act as the "trustee" of the corporate subclan over all its permanent and semi-permanent resources, especially in land and magic, as the custodian of its prestige and rights as a corporate group, and of its human "resources" also, in as much as he should see that the marriages of its members are in general arranged to the advantage of the economic and other interests of the corporate group wherever these are involved to any extent at the inaugural stage of marriages.

In none of these functions does the headman stand alone however; all members of the subclan and, where appropriate, the village share them in proportion to their seniority and experience, and have the right to act in

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(71) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 356-357.

the interests of the subclan in fulfilling these responsibilities according to their individual capacities and formal roles. Thus in the maintenance of order and the supervision of the economic contribution of members to the resources of the group Daibuna took action in the case of Tomiyala acting as the leading member of Tomiyala's generation of the subclan. Nor has the headman authority in any autocratic sense, except in so far as a man of high rank and ability may achieve a degree of independence of his fellows as we shall see. Rather the headman's proper role is to act wherever a formal representative of the group is required on the basis of the agreed intentions or decisions of the group as a whole. Because of the small numbers involved, the headman is normally well enough aware of most of his kinsmen's and neighbours' feelings in day to day matters; where there is any doubt he must consult at least the other leading men and any other individuals directly concerned in a given matter, e.g. in gardening, the allocation of plots for cultivation, before he can be sure that his decisions will be implemented, while any really serious matter, e.g. the development of disputes over inheritance of rights over garden plots, requires consultation with all members. Such consultation may be informal in less serious matters, or may involve the calling of a formal deliberation or kayaku, to which may be summoned members of the subclan living in even distant villages if the matter is really grave.

In all his functions then the headman acts as the executor, rather than the dictator, of the will and intentions of the corporate group he represents. He usually acts only after consultation with the more important members of the subclan and village, and often delegates some at least of his

responsibilities to men amongst them who have special interests or aptitudes. This explains the frequency with which the office of garden magician is delegated to non-members of the owning subclan of a village; it requires both special aptitudes in the memorising of innumerable spells and incantations, and of technological expertise far beyond that required for ordinary efficient gardening, and a willingness to undertake very onerous duties on behalf of the corporate group with relatively little material reward, though with the acquisition of fame, respect and influence. Not all headmen, or members of a subclan, are able or willing to undertake the role, and it is often very much to the advantage of the whole subclan and its village if an affine will undertake it as their "trustee", in return for the right to live permanently in their village, for gifts of plots of its garden land and for a measure of influence and prestige (72).

Other members of the subclan who are recognised as especially able in other spheres; e.g. as canoe builders or sailors, house builders or dancers and so forth; ~~and~~ are specially consulted in and may be entrusted with the organising of undertakings in which their special aptitudes or qualifications are directly relevant. Other residents with such aptitudes may also be entrusted with special responsibilities, as in the case of garden magic, while the headman himself may have one or other special in addition to his general qualifications - or he may have none in any marked degree, but may be something of a moderately good "all rounder".

In fact for practical purposes the major consideration which restricts

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(72) Malinowski esp. 1935 I pp. 64-68, 361-362.

the formal headmanship of a village as such to members of its owning subclan is the requirement of safeguarding the prestige and standing of the subclan as such, its rank, titles to land and so forth; for these can only be entrusted to a man who is socially identified with the corporate subclan, while non-members are not. Bound up with this is the matter of detailed knowledge of the subclan's myths of origin as the "charters", in Malinowski's phrase, of its corporate status; and the knowledge of these, together with those of other subclans of the cluster and neighbourhood, is a major element in the prestige which their experience, acquired during a lifetime of attendance at and involvement in disputes bearing on and settled in terms of these "charters", confers on senior men of the subclan. This acquired knowledge gives authority to the opinions of older men who are known to possess it, and is an important factor, with their control over the allocation of the resources and property of the subclan, in making practically effective their control over the junior members of the subclan.

The superordination of senior over junior members of the subclan thus derives ultimately from the unity and identity of its members and their interests as well as their status in Trobriand society; their ability to influence and control the junior members derives from the latters' dependence upon their seniors for their heritage, both individual and collective, for guidance and training in exploiting and safeguarding their material resources and their position in society. These considerations underlie the effectiveness both of the sanctions discussed in connection with the maintenance of law and order, and the effectiveness of leadership within the subclan as vested in its headman and exercised by him together with other senior and

influential junior members. The effective relationships resulting from and involved in the processes of social control within the village are formulated and systematised in the institutionalised statuses and relationships of kinship, in the formal respect due to mothers' and elder brothers particularly and manifested in the pokala system as already discussed, in the formal responsibilities for gardening for women of the subclan and so on, while the position of senior members of the subclan is reciprocally bound up with their dependence upon the juniors for support in their conduct of the affairs of the subclan. The authority of its headman as the representative and trustee of the members is directly dependent upon their acquiescence in his leadership, and in the absence of the personal power conferred by high rank a commoner headman has no effective means of ignoring the wishes of others; he can only attempt to win them round to his viewpoint by persuading them of its rightness. The aim in all discussions of policy is to achieve agreement between the parties by compromise.

The subordinate position of non-owning citizens of a village is the result of the conditional nature of their rights of residence, and is formally reflected in their status as affines or dependent subclan kin of members of the owning subclan. Individually such a stranger may attain a position of some influence as garden magician or simply in terms of his personality, but his retention of such a position is ultimately conditional upon the tacit or explicit acquiescence of the members of the owning subclan which may be withdrawn if he is felt to be exploiting them or failing to contribute to the interests of the village and subclan. This is apparent

in more than one case referred to by Malinowski (73). The formal kinship relations between the "stranger" citizens, both wives and children of members of the owning subclan and men of other subclans, and the members of the owning subclan, and between these "owners" of the village themselves, thus provide the structural basis of the processes of social control and of social organisation in general within the village, the same relationships of formal super- and sub-ordination serving the needs of leadership and of coordination of effort among the village and subclan population wherever necessary, in economic, political and other aspects of their relationships with each other and with members of other corporate groups. As has been indicated more than once however, this formal basis of social organisation is not conspicuous in the daily life of a village, which is conducted normally in terms of personal relationships. It emerges however in crises, such as in dealing with breaches of law and order, in economic organisation, as in the garden council which inaugurates the new season's work, and especially in mortuary rites and other major ceremonial occasions; and it underlies always the relationships of the population however informal these may appear on the surface, giving substance to their reciprocal rights and obligations as members of corporate groups, both local and kinship. But as was indicated at the beginning of this Section, the village as a local group is not an autonomous unit, except in so far as it, or in the case of joint or compound villages sections of it, constitutes an economic unit of production and to some extent of consumption. In distribution, however, as in land tenure

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(73) E.g. 1929, pp. 10-13, 1935 I pp. 361-362.

as against land exploitation, the subclan must be regarded as the unit, in as much as distribution of garden produce is largely the result of the urigubu harvest presentation system; in social control also, as jurally and ceremonially, the unity of the corporate subclan cuts across local group unity at the level of the village, and may be said to provide the structural basis of the organisation of the village cluster, together with marriage as the contractual mechanism by which subclans are structurally related to each other. In order to understand better the processes of social organisation in the village it is necessary to place it in the context of the organisation of the village cluster, to which we now proceed.

Section 4. The Organisation of the Village Cluster.

The village cluster as a territorial unit consists in a number of spatially more or less distinct but closely situated village sites and the garden and other lands associated with them. Demographically it consists in the populations of the component villages, whose relationships with one another are structured through the association with one another of representatives of the owning subclans identified with each village site in contractual reciprocal relationships formulated in terms of kinship. These contractual relationships are focussed upon the headman of the highest ranking subclan in the cluster, whose position in the organisation of the internal and external relationships of the cluster population is essentially similar to that of the headman of the senior subclan identified with a village in the internal and external relationships of the village's population. That is, the internal organisation of the village cluster is best understood as consisting in the organisation of the external

relationships of the component village and subclan populations, through their focussing in contractual kinship relations between the cluster headman or Chief and the headmen of the villages and their owning subclans.

The Position of the Chief.

In discussing land tenure Malinowski wrote "The Chief's control over certain uses of land in his territory is largely exercised through his marriage with women of different communities within that territory. The same applies to a much smaller extent to a headman, who usually has two or three wives" (74). In the light of the preceding analysis it is however held that a Chief's power to control and lead members of his village cluster and others who may accept his leadership is in general formulated in and operates through his affinal relationships. Malinowski interpreted the rivalry characteristic of the lubou relationship as essentially the result of conflict between patrilineal and matrilineal "principles" or "doctrines" in the personal relationships of husband and wife's brother, arising from their conflicting personal interests in the children of the wife or sister (75); here their rivalry is interpreted as resulting from their efforts to safeguard the interests of their respective corporate subclans in their reciprocal roles in the contractual relationship established between them through the marriage of the one with the sister of the other, the structural significance of the marriage being precisely that it establishes the contractual relation of formal interaction between the men and their

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(74) 1935 I p. 334; v. also especially pp. 346-347, and Cap. XII pp. 341 ff.

(75) E.g. 1935 I pp. 359 ff.

corporate subclans. Their relations with the woman's children are conditioned by their formal relations with each other; but in principle their roles and interests in the marriage and its children are complementary and do not conflict, although in practice the cooperation which should result from the complementary opposition of their formal roles tends to involve a degree of competition, and this is the more intense and far-reaching the more important structurally the particular marriage in the organisation of the relations of the descent and local groups concerned. Structurally the Chief's marriages are the most important of all.

The Chief's position within his subclan is basically the same, and is attained in the same way, as that of other subclan headmen, but his personal power is much greater, and the competition for the succession is usually intense partly because of this, and partly for the associated reason that the focussing of leadership upon the cluster Chief makes the succession to the office a matter of factional interest to his followers, who may support alternative successors because of rivalries or enmities between themselves as head or senior men of their own subclans, villages or village clusters. The Chief's power, like that of the village headman, does not derive from authority as an attribute of an office of cluster Chief at the head of a hierarchy of offices of subordinate headmen; there is no such formal administrative or other hierarchy, except that there is an order of prestige in rank and seniority as between subclans and their formal representatives. High rank however gives the headman of a subclan the prerogative of polygamy, and the fear and veneration in which he is held result in his being given wives by representatives of lower ranking corporate groups as a means of

allying themselves with him. As the husband of women of these groups, not as Guyau or Chief as such, he then has an interest and a right to interfere in any affair of the groups represented by his wives and their brothers which may affect his claims on them as their lubou, both for harvest presentations and for the other forms of urigubu due to a husband (pp. 411-413).

Rank has been structurally explained as the analogue in social organisation of a conceptual attribute of some units of communication which has the effect of focussing upon them the relations of communication of other units (pp. 212-213). The Kiriwinans explain their fear and respect for Chiefs, which is the reason for giving them wives, as resulting from their control or possession of dangerous powers, magical and/or technical, associated with their subclans. In the case of the Tabalu Chiefs of Omarakana, for example, this special power is the magic of sun and rain (tourikuna), by the use of which they are believed to be able to cause famine or plenty throughout the Trobriands (76). The Toliwaga chiefs of Kabwaku, leaders of Tilataula district and the Tabalu's traditional military rivals are believed on the other hand to possess specially potent magic and skill for fighting (77). Whatever the power attributed to them, it has the effect of causing other subclans and villages in the neighbourhood to ally themselves with the high ranking chiefs of the district by giving them wives; and the Tabalu's power is more feared than that of any other Chief, since it affects the whole of the Islands, whereas that of other chiefs does not; the war magic of the Toliwaga, for instance, can operate only through the physical efforts

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(76) Malinowski 1929 p. 113, 1935 I p. 83.

(77) Malinowski 1935 I pp. 38-39.

of his warriors, who can be fought and in favourable circumstances beaten, but there is no effective "antidote" to the Tabalu's touributu magic.

Structurally these beliefs, together with the outward observances of respect shown to people of rank and their traditional "monopolies" of polygamy and of certain forms of wealth (pigs, areca and cocomut palms, valuables acquired through Kula and in other ways), and so on, can be regarded as charters for, or rationalisations of, and mechanisms that reinforce and maintain, their positions as foci of the structural relationships of social organisation. That is, the respect and fear in which the chief is held is the result of the belief in his special powers, and is expressed and reinforced in the ceremonial deference and economic and other monopolies traditionally accorded him. Polygyny is one of these, and wives are given him by the corporate groups in his locality in order to ally themselves with him, including those of his clan kin who tend to be counted formally as his affines because the affinal is more specific than a clan kinship relation as a contract of reciprocal obligations (pp. 399-400). As a husband the Chief has of course the normal duties of any man towards his wife's subclan, but his domestic responsibilities, especially when he has a large number of wives, tend to be overshadowed by and subordinated to the importance of the advantages he can bestow as an economic and political ally, commanding both wealth and other forms of tribute from all the corporate kin and local groups in his cluster and in others, if he is of great power and high rank.

Because of his power headmen of his wives' subclans are cautious about possibly offending him, and tend to consult him about any matters in their

own subclan and village affairs that might affect his interests as their lubou, while he has the right to intervene, like any other husband, if he sees or suspects that his rights are not properly safeguarded; e.g. if a wife's brothers are not organising their gardening so as to provide him with quantities of harvest gifts appropriate to his status. At the same time his status as their common affine makes him the obvious choice if quarrels or disputes arise between the residents or the corporate groups represented in the cluster in the settlement of which an arbitrator is sought, while he has again both the right to intervene if such disputes threaten his affines' ability to render him the services due, and the duty to safeguard the interests of his various affines, and in the process to reconcile their interests and conflicts. He is recognised also as having the right to see that any pronouncements he may make as an arbitrator are acted upon both in his interests, and because he has in general the responsibility of seeing that good order is maintained in the relations of the groups comprising the village cluster, as their common affine who is in virtue of this relationship affected by and involved in their relations with each other. Thus the position of the headman of the highest ranking and most senior subclan of the village cluster becomes in effect that of its formally recognised leader, not in virtue of his rank as such, which is shared by all the other members of his subclan, but because in virtue of his control over the special powers attributed to his subclan he becomes the lubou (sister's husband) of the head and senior men of all the other subclans and villages of the cluster.

Social Control within the Cluster - a. Law and Order.

As has already been noted, because of the dispersal of the members of

owning subclans and of the reciprocal rights and duties of relatives-in-law, (p. 444), the village is not an autonomous unit except in the sense that it may constitute economically a unit of production and, to a degree, of consumption. Even here however the policies of its head and senior men are conditioned by the rights and interests of the non-resident members of the subclan and of their affines in the exploitation of its lands, who in other respects have the right to intervene in the village's domestic affairs, and in those of the households comprising it, in as much as some members of all domestic households have jural and other rights in villages other than that in which the household is situated in virtue of their membership of an owning subclan. The residents of a village cluster are all affected in varying degrees by what goes on in each of its villages, and having rights in virtue of formal kinship relations to intervene in whatever affects them are strongly motivated collectively to maintain solidarity and order within the cluster, and to cooperate in maintaining common economic and other interests in the face of other village clusters. At the same time, the individual subclans have their own rights and interests, e.g. in land and other resources, and the need to safeguard these against possible encroachments by members of other subclans tends to provoke rivalries and disputes between them and their villages. Moreover, each corporate subclan is likely to be drawn into any trouble arising in the relationships of any of its members resident in other villages than its own, in virtue of the right of the individual to the support of his subclan as a corporate group and the subclan's corporate responsibility for the behaviour of its members. The maintenance of law and order within any village thus becomes potentially at least the interest and the

responsibility of all other subclans and villages within the cluster, though the individuals primarily responsible for a village are of course the head and other resident senior men of its owning subclan.

The cluster Chief's position as the only individual who is the affine, either in fact or by a fiction of some sort, of all the headmen of the owning subclans of other villages, makes him the de facto leader of the cluster in matters of law and order no less than in its economic organisation (79). Strictly speaking his right to intervene in matters affecting law and order is limited to situations in which his status as the affine of those primarily concerned is affected, but in practice of course any matter can be held to affect him in this way from one viewpoint or another, so that any matter of intra-village relations which the headman and his colleagues cannot themselves satisfactorily conclude may be referred to him by them, while he may take action in matters that affect law and order in the cluster on his own initiative, provided of course that he is able and a strong enough personality to do so. For it must be understood that, the statuses of Guyau, Toliwaga etc. being ranks, not political or other offices as such, a cluster Guyau or other senior headman is its effective leader, i.e. converts the potential advantage of high rank into actual power through polygynous marriages, to the extent that his personality and character permit him to exploit these advantages. If he is not an able and minimally ambitious man, the cluster will have no formally recognised leader; but in view of the rivalry for the headmanship of highranking subclans, any man who becomes Chief is likely to

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(79) Cf. Malinowski 1929 Cap II Sec. V; 1935 I pp. 46-48.

possess these qualities.

The Cluster Council.

Thus through their formal relationships with the Chief the activities of the other subclans and villages of the cluster are coordinated whenever necessary, e.g. in organising major competitive harvests, Kula expeditions etc.; disputes between subclans and villages are composed or at least prevented from completely disrupting their relationships; and breaches of law and order involving members of different subclans or villages that either cannot be settled by negotiations between the parties immediately concerned or are so serious, or develop in such a way, as to amount to a threat to the wellbeing of the cluster as a whole - and therefore to the wellbeing and prestige of its Chief. In dealing with such matters the cluster Chief's position is in principle very similar to that of a village headman's in the internal relations of his village - which of course is the position of the Chief within his subclan's village. Basically the Chief's role is to act as the spokesman of the interests of the cluster, and he should and normally does consult the views of other subclan and village headmen and seniors before he does so. They thus constitute as it were a de facto council, and meet at the Chief's village whenever a matter of importance arises, or whenever he summons them e.g. to discuss any matter of policy upon which he proposes to consult them. Nowadays Mitakata, in imitation of the Administration's monthly assembly of appointed village headmen and councillors, holds a council for the Omarakana cluster headmen and leaders at more or less regular intervals, but informants said that in olden times a council (kayaku) was held only when there was definite business to be attended to.

The procedure at such a cluster council is essentially the same as at a village kayaku. Those primarily involved in the matter under consideration express their views or put their cases, others comment upon it, adduce evidence, quote precedents or traditions and myths of origin etc. wherever appropriate, according to the nature of the matter under deliberation, and finally the Chief, traditionally through a spokesman, calls upon the other headmen present to express their views in order of seniority, starting with the more junior and finally giving his own views which have the force of a decision or judgment. Where the matter involves compensation or restitution, as in charges concerning e.g. wrongful appropriation of land, physical injury in brawls etc., every effort is made to get the parties to arrive at an agreement themselves, and when they do so publicly and in the presence of the Chief the agreement is binding. Similarly, if the kayaku is concerned with the organisation of communal enterprises, especially in olden times of warfare, every effort is made to secure a unanimous decision; the technique and aim of the kayaku whatever the matter dealt with may be summarised as being discussion to agreement.

The same basic procedure and the same personnel deal with all matters affecting the collective interests and unity of the village cluster, whether from a theoretical viewpoint they could be distinguished as economic, political, jural or ritual matters; these aspects are of course all discernible in varying degrees in any matter that may arise. Nor is it possible to distinguish at the level of law and order between breaches that are always dealt with by village headmen and those which are dealt with by the Chief

and the cluster council (80). As Malinowski's accounts show different kinds of offence are distinguished by the Trobrianders ranging from insulting behaviour which provokes minor physical retaliation to theft, adultery, wrongful killing and so forth. Any such offence, and any dispute of any kind, is first taken up at the level of those primarily affected, in the physical retaliatory action that is the usual first reaction to the discovery of an injury; then at the level of the kin or local groups of the individuals first involved, where attempts are made to settle the affair by the village headman and elders if it is an intra-village matter, or by the head and senior men of the villages and subclans directly involved if it is an inter-village or inter-subclan affair. If the intervention of subclan and village leaders succeeds, the matter is closed; if not, it is taken up at the cluster council, either being raised there by those primarily affected or being brought up by other interested parties. Because of its small scale and the intensive interaction between its population, and of the techniques of debate, which resemble those of the yakala or kakayuwa as a consequence of the intimacy of the relationships between the residents, any minor breach of law and order, or any discussion of policy in intra-village affairs, may develop into a major disturbance of law and order requiring the intervention of the Chief and other village headmen to restore the situation. Thus the Chief does not intervene automatically in any particular kind of dispute or disturbance, except of course those to which he or a member of his subclan or village is a direct party; but he may intervene of choice or of necessity

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(80) But Cf. Austen 1945 pp. 48 ff.

in any kind of dispute that appears to threaten the wellbeing of the cluster, in virtue of his right as an affine to secure his own interests and his duty to safeguard and promote those of his affinal adherents.

The Chief's Sanctions.

His intervention is rendered effective by a number of sanctions, in addition to the general motivation of members of the cluster to observe his decisions and judgments as the spokesman of their collective interests. Backing up, as it were, this general incentive to follow his leadership is the coercive sanction latent in his control of the tourikuna magic; informants held however that this would not be employed against members or groups within his cluster except as the last resort of a Chief who felt that his followers in general were turning against him, because it could not be employed within the cluster without affecting the Chief's own as well as other villages and their lands. The magic of drought and famine is in other words not a specific sanction, but the basis of the general veneration and fear accorded the Chief, and is in practice the less important in reinforcing his position the greater the practical advantages of supporting him, and these are of course greatest to the members of his village cluster. In practice the most effective sanction he can invoke is, as in the case of the village headman, the backing of public opinion, which might be employed by him in applying "shaming" techniques in the cluster council, both to individuals and to groups, in much the same way as it is employed in the village, and with similar results which are the more readily brought about since a "shaming" by the Chief, or by other men in the cluster council, is more public and hence more effective than a "shaming" by a village headman.

Two sanctions can be employed by the Chief that are not generally available to other village headmen, however; these are open or implied threats of sorcery or of violence, which may be employed against both individuals and groups, and with the tacit or explicit agreement of other leading men of the cluster. The employment of sorcerers by the Chief has been alluded to more than once by Malinowski (81), but while as he showed all Chiefs and most men of any eminence are more or less automatically believed to employ sorcerers against people for private reasons more frequently than do other people, one of the uses to which a Chief puts his wealth on behalf of his followers is to employ sorcerers to eliminate undesirable members of the community, by spells or by the use of actual poisons. Traditionally a threat of sorcery was never made by the Chief himself, but only by a spokesman who would employ some elliptic phrase such as "So-and-so, it would be a pity if you were to die because of your misdeeds", and if he were not reproved by others present it would be understood that the threatened action would be approved by them. If the man then died, it would be assumed that the threat had been put into effect by the Chief or his agent, but no-one would make public reference to this. The procedure thus permits the employment of sorcery for the public good against chronic offenders without introducing the element of suspicion of sorcery into the relationships of their subclan kin or fellow-villagers, while of course the knowledge that a Chief could employ sorcerers secretly as well as more or less publicly strengthens the fear in which he is held because of his special magical powers. He may of course

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(81) Esp. 1922 pp. 64-65. Cf. also the story of Botabalu's rise to power in Austen 1940.

have a reputation as a sorcerer himself, as had To'uluwa, Mitakata's predecessor (82). Nowadays of course the semi-overt use of threats of sorcery for any purpose is not possible owing to Government regulations, and the same is true of the use of force, consideration of which carries us into the realm of politics.

b. Political Organisation. (83)

The present tense is used historically in discussing the open use of force, the following being based on informants' statements which arose out of discussion of various brawls between villages that occurred in 1950-51. There were four of these in the neighbourhood of Omarakana cluster during this period, arising from disputes or insults between members of communities which were traditionally more or less hostile to each other. Despite Government bans on fighting these disputes resulted in parties of young men collecting and setting out to avenge the injuries to their fellow villagers, but their seniors in all cases sought to restrain them, and the resultant abortive encounters hardly amounted to organised warfare even though more than one man was injured in them; no one was killed in those I investigated personally.

Regarding the political organisation of the village cluster as consisting in the external relationships of the component corporate kin and local groups, fighting or warfare as a means of conducting these is considered reprehensible, and appears not to have occurred when the cluster was under the effective

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(82) Seligman 1910 p. 665, quoting Annual Report 1899-1900.

(83) V. esp. Seligman 1910 Cap. 21 pp. 692 ff.

leadership of a minimally strong Chief or senior headman. It does appear to have occurred sometimes however in connection with disputed succession; but the most usual technique of eliminating a contender physically appears to be the use of poison or a secret attack by individual assassins on him personally; the same techniques are traditionally employed also to remove a bad Chief. The use of force by a Chief against social undesirables or against factions within the cluster which refuse to follow his leadership or seek to remove him from office is however regarded as right, but as in the case of sorcery an unscrupulous Chief could use his power of coercion for his private advantage as against the public interest. Any injury or insult to the person of the Chief is usually immediately avenged by one of his armed retainers, and no action can legitimately be taken to obtain compensation or revenge in such a case by the executed man's kin (84). All Chiefs of any standing, and many lesser headmen, had in olden times a body of armed retainers, or warriors, upon whom they relied for support, and who could be employed by them to enforce the decisions reached in council - but who could also be used to intimidate or destroy those who opposed the Chief in other contexts also.

The Chief's Personal Retainers.

The traditional fighting force of a village consists of course in all its adult male members, but the young unmarried men, the ulatile, living in the bachelor houses, had little to do in addition to helping their seniors with gardening, other than having affairs with girls and quarrelling with the ulatile of other village clusters and in so doing learning the techniques

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(84) Cf. e.g. Malinowski 1929 pp. 376-377.

of fighting, though they were restrained from fighting with the ulatile of the other villages of the cluster. The majority of such youths were sisters' sons of the men of the owning subclan of the village, and constituted something of a collective labour force under the direction of the senior men, which could be employed if need be to intimidate unruly elements in the village or in neighbouring communities. Even today most brawls between neighbouring villages result from the expeditions of such youths in search of adventure of one sort or another. By having in his bachelor houses a number of such young men whose position in the village depended upon his personal favour, a Chief could be sure of the services of a band of semi-idle men who would support him if need be even against his own kinsmen. The nucleus of such a group consisted in the sons of the Chief, those of his predecessor's wives in some cases, and those of his own wives later in his career, as his personal power increased and with it the likelihood of jealousy and personal enmity among his junior subclan kin neighbours. The presence of such a body of "stranger" youths in their village constituted a threat, not to the inheritance or formal rights of the Chief's future successors which could not be alienated from them, but to their right to a say in the conduct of their village's affairs and even, should the Chief become too autocratic and they incur his personal enmity or hostility, to their personal wellbeing; for such youths might, in order to render their positions and advantages more secure, stir up trouble for their own ends.

The friction and hostility that tends to characterise the relations between a Chief's sons and his sisters' sons has its roots in the political aspect of his position, not as Malinowski argued in the kinship system as

such (85). Favouring the sons at the expense of the heirs is not a manifestation of conflict between matrilineal and patrilineal "principles" of kinship, but a political manoeuvre by which a Chief strengthens and consolidates his personal power at the expense of that of other members of his subclan, although of course in individual cases the political motive could well be reinforced by personal affection for a particular son. It is to be noted that all the cases of such conflict quoted by Malinowski relate to the sons of Chiefs or important lesser headmen, none to the sons even of other senior members of the Chief's subclan; this is of course because it is the unique political importance of the Chief's position that makes it both desirable and advantageous for him as father to confer favours on his sons. A commoner father who desires to help his son can best do so by furthering his interests with his wife's brother, e.g. by making pokala to the latter vice the son so that when the boy grows up and goes to his own village there will be a plot of land of his own awaiting him (cf. p. 392 ff.). The tendency for a Chief to encourage some at least of his sons to marry women of his subclan, or women of owning subclans of the other villages in the cluster, and to settle in the Chief's own or in the other villages, is a function of his political position also; such men, dependent upon the Chief's personal favour, could be used by him as his personal agents in the villages in which they lived. Most of them would return sooner or later to the villages of their own subclans, but so long as they stayed on in their father's cluster they would in effect act as representatives of their own

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(85) Eg. 1929 pp. 13 ff., 83, 86; 1935 I pp. 350 ff. etc.

subclans, so that it would be in the interests of their mothers' brothers to encourage them to stay on, at least until their presence was required in their own villages.

In Omarakana there is a section for the houses of members of the Chief's wives' subclans. Some of these men would be his sons, of course; but other men of the wives' subclans also lived in a special sector of the Chief's village in order to be in a position to safeguard their subclans' and village or village clusters' interests as the Chief's allies (86). Some of these men had by tradition special duties to perform, or were allocated such duties, e.g. as heralds or spokesmen, personal bodyguards or shield or spear bearers, or even according to some informants as food tasters, in order to protect the Chief against attempts to poison him. Some of these duties were reserved to certain subclans traditionally regarded as allies of the Chief, such as the Bwaydaga subclan of Lukwasisiga clan, called Kwoynama by Malinowski, who own Liluta village and are Gumguyau Chiefs of its cluster. As the closest rivals to the Tabalu in rank in Kiriwina district, they are still the Tabalu Chief's most important affines outside his own cluster, and are the first from whom a wife is sought by a new Tabalu Chief. The importance of the connection is apparent in the fact that in virtue of their special duties to and ties with the Tabalu this subclan has acquired limited rights of ownership in Omarakana and is represented there by a cadet branch in apparently permanent residence (pp. 44 ff.).

The "Council of Allies".

The resident members of the Bwaydaga subclan together with one man who

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(86) Cf. Map 5 in Appendix and Malinowski 1929 Fig. 1, also pp. 9.

has been allowed by Mitakata as his personal retainer to build a house in the part of the village reserved for his affinal allies represent all that remains today of a body of resident representatives of the local groups of the Chief's affinal allies who, together with the headmen of the other villages of the Omarakana cluster, constituted in olden times a sort of semi-permanent resident council which acted as a more or less informal advisory body to the Chief, who had to consult it before he could initiate any major enterprise, especially war, with any degree of certainty that his allies would support him in it. Its members also kept in close touch with developments in the relations between the Chief and other allied local groups by participation in or observation of events in the Chief's village, and could keep the headmen of the local groups represented by them informed of matters of interest, or summon them to participate in events of importance in which their presence was not required by the Chief, but by which their interests as his allies might be affected.

This body of resident affinal representatives of other village clusters than the Chief's had however no formal rights to intervene as a body in the internal affairs of the Chief's village cluster, though its members, like all wives' brothers, had individual claims upon the Chief personally. Its presence in the Chief's village, however, together with that of other persons, including his sons, who were dependent for their position upon him individually and could therefore be expected to take his part in possible divergences between himself and other residents in the cluster, was probably no less important, and may have been more so in practice, than the Chief's control of magic or sorcery in strengthening his personal power. This appears

indeed in olden times, as Malinowski's and Seligman's accounts indicate, to have been so great as to make his position in effect that of a more or less benevolent autocrat so far as the internal organisation of the relationships of the population of his cluster was concerned; nor was this apparently resented provided that he was a "good" Chief, provided that is that he employed his powers for the benefit of the group as much as for his own, keeping good order, settling disputes fairly and justly according to native views, using his wealth to help his followers in times of hardship and to underwrite or organise the public festivities and enterprises, e.g. Kula fleet expeditions, as was expected of him in normal times, and refraining from harsh extortion of wealth or services from them. If he was not a good Chief in these senses, sooner or later someone among his allies, perhaps at the instigation and certainly with the support of members of his cluster, would try to organise an armed revolt, or preferably to arrange to have him poisoned or otherwise disposed of. Thus the presence of the representatives of the Chief's allies affected in practice the internal relationships at the political level of the cluster population, while in turn their leading subclan's affinal relation with the Chief affected the internal relationships of the clusters of his wives, because of the importance of his marriages in the external relationships of the village cluster of which he was the leader. Nowadays, although the effect of European administration has lessened the advantages of having resident representatives in the Chief's village, the head and senior men of the clusters represented in his marriages still act as a council to some extent, meeting in his village where necessary to consider matters of importance in their economic and other relations with one another,

and on some occasions in their relations with the Administration or the Missions. With the important difference of the absence of organised warfare, therefore, the structural significance of the Chiefs affinal relationships remains.

Section 5. The Organisation of Inter-Cluster Relationships.

Map 3 of the Appendix presents visually data relating to inter-cluster and inter-district relationships. The village clusters are represented by the enclosure in a red dotted line of the component villages, as in the five villages of Omarakana cluster. Single villages thus enclosed and linked by dotted lines to clusters or other single villages are closely associated with the clusters politically, and for purposes of major economic undertakings (competitive harvest seasons etc.), but are relatively isolated spatially, and were stated by informants to be less closely integrated by kinship or marriage relations with each other than the villages within the clusters proper.

The ruled red lines mark the grouping of villages and of clusters into the named districts of Kiriwina, Tilataula, Kuboma, Kulumata and Luba. These named districts represent territorial rather than actual political groupings and are traditional, the existing political groupings cutting across them to some extent. The important political groupings under leading Chiefs or headmen in each named district are represented in the pecked brown and blue lines. These lines enclose the village clusters tributary to the Chiefs in virtue of their marriages with women of the leading subclans. The rank of the leading subclan in each cluster and village site is indicated by the colour of the circle indicating the site; one coloured red indicates a

senior owning subclan and headman of the Tabalu Guyau Chief subclan and its cadet branches; blue symbols indicate headman of Gumguyau lesser Chiefly rank, black headmen of Toliwaga senior commoner subclan and white ordinary commoner owning subclans and headmen. The clan membership of owning subclans is not indicated because it makes no difference to the significance of the tributary nature of the relation between the cluster chief or headman and the Chief for whom he provides urigubu. Gumguyau chiefs of the Lukwasisiga, the Lukuba and the Mailasi clans are all represented by the blue symbols, but the Toliwaga senior commoners are all of the Lukwasisiga clan, while the Lukulobuta clan has no genuine chiefly or Toliwaga subclans.

Where a headman of a village or cluster is of the same clan as the leading headman of the cluster or district, as is the case in the village of Yolawotu in the Omarakana cluster, he may be attached for tributary purposes to one of the Chief's wives as the Chief's fictional affine, as the Yolawotu headman is attached to Mitakata's senior wife, as we have seen; or a cluster headman of the same clan as the local district chief may garden for him as the fictional "brother" of a woman of one of the subclans in his cluster who is married to the district leader. The cluster headman may on the other hand garden for the district leader not as the fictional kinsman of such a woman but as her formal affine, her "father" if he is married to another woman of her subclan as is usually the case, or her "sister's husband", and the lubou of her brother. Whatever the mechanism adopted, the resulting tributary relationship between the headman and his senior clansman is structurally the same.

The data represented on the map and here presented were obtained largely

in discussion with informants in the Omarakana cluster, checked wherever possible by questioning visitors from the various districts. Because of the relative intensity of communication and interaction throughout the Island, most senior men are fairly familiar with the general alignments of villages in other districts in political relations, and of course everyone knows the villages of chiefs and other men of importance in the various districts as well as the villages upon which they draw for urigubu. Except in details such as the number of men gardening for the chiefs and cluster headmen in the other districts, which are not represented on the map where only the range of villages drawn upon by each of the chiefs other than Mitakata is indicated, the statements of informants in Omarakana cluster agreed both among themselves and with those of visitors from other districts where they could be checked, and the data may be taken with reasonable confidence as representing the political situation of 1950-51 at least in outline.

The Omarakana Alliance.

The interrelations of the villages and clusters of Kiriwina district may thus be taken as reasonably typical of those in others, and will be used as the example for discussion here since information about them is the most adequate. The local groups associated in affinal alliances with Mitakata of Omarakana are those lying to the east of the pecked blue line that follows approximately the indicated boundary between the districts of Kiriwina and Tilataula on the Map. The area so enclosed will be designated the Omarakana alliance, and the areas covered by the affinal alliances of other Chiefs will be designated by the names of the leaders' villages as e.g. the Kabwaku or the Tubowada alliances, in order to distinguish the political alignments from

the traditionally recognised geographical districts of Kiriwina, Tilataula etc.

At present (1951) the Omarakana alliance covers the whole of Kiriwina district excepting the village cluster of Kwaymwata-Yalumugwa in the extreme south, and includes the clusters of Obwelia, Okaikoda and Obowada in southern Tilataula. The village cluster of Moligilagi in extreme south Tilataula should probably be shown as associated with that of Kwaymwata-Yalumugwa rather than with Obwelia. The underlining in red of the names of villages in the area indicates those in which one man at least is in a tributary urigubu relationship with the Omarakana Chief in virtue of one or other of the latter's marriages. It will be seen that all the clusters have at least one village underlined thus, and in most more than one, so that there is in fact a tributary relationship of one sort or another between Mitakata and all the leading men of the clusters in the area covered by his affinal alliances. It will be noted that two village clusters in Luba district are also underlined in red, while Labai village in northern Tilataula is so underlined and is included in the boundary of the Omarakana alliance. The Luba villages are not, however; the men gardening for Mitakata there do so not as affines by his marriage to women of their subclans, but in deference to their former connection through the cadet branch of the Tabalu subclan of Olivilevi, which has now died out (87), and to a traditional connection with former Chiefs of Omarakana whereby Mitakata's predecessor To'uluwa received wives from these clusters, as is shown on the map. This is evidence of the shrinking of the Omarakana alliance, which will be referred to again later.

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(87) Malinowski 1935 I p. 365.

The discussion in the preceding Sections emphasised the limited nature of the Tabalu Chief's powers in relation to the local groups headed by his tributary affines. It is perhaps necessary to emphasise that his position is not that of Paramount Chief, even within the territory of his alliances, in the sense of the incumbent of a permanent office with defined functions at the head of a hierarchy of subordinate offices in a centralised institution of social control and political organisation, although the effects of the alliance upon the interrelations of the groups concerned is similar in some respects to those of such an institution. The position of the Tabalu Chief is that of a man who in virtue of his advantages in terms of rank and the prestige derived therefrom is able more or less successfully to negotiate a number of contractual alliances in the form of marriages by which similarly though less highly qualified leaders of other groups accept voluntarily, albeit customarily or by tradition in some cases, positions as tributary followers in return for the Tabalu Chief's acceptance of reciprocal obligations to them. Each man who achieves the position of recognised leader of the Tabalu subclan by the processes already discussed above, pp. 465-471, begins his career with only the affinal allies he has acquired by any marriages he has previously contracted. We saw on p. 352 that both Mitakata and his predecessor To'uluwa had already married women of the Bwaydaga or Kwoynama subclan at the time of their accession to the Chieftancy, while it is recorded in Seligman's work that To'uluwa already had five or six wives during the lifetime of his predecessor Numakala or Enamakala (88).

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(88) 1910 p. 713.

Three stages may be discerned in Mitakata's career after his acceptance by his subclan kin as the new Chief. To'uluwa's power had considerably declined by his death in 1930. At the beginning of his career he had up to 20 wives (89), but by Malinowski's time this number had declined to thirteen, and by the time he died he had only five. To some extent his loss of power can be attributed to early Government and Mission policies which aimed at "emancipating" the people from the domination of Chiefs in general by discrediting the institution and the beliefs which reinforced it, especially magical. This policy was reversed to some extent in the mid-twenties, largely as the result of Austen's efforts as influenced by Malinowski's writings and his own experience in the Trobriands, and the support of the then Administrator of Papua, Judge Murray (90). According to informants however, To'uluwa's loss of support was due to his bad personal reputation rather than to discrediting of the institutions of Chieftaincy; he early acquired a bad reputation as a sorcerer, and was in fact imprisoned on this charge at Losuia by Bellamy when he was Resident Magistrate (91). That the position of the Tabalu Guyau was still accorded traditional respect and fear is evidenced by the fact that Mitakata's succession resulted in his being given wives in the traditional way.

Thus after the period of mourning for his predecessor, Mitakata received three more wives. He was already married to a girl of the Bwaydaga owning

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(89) Ibid. p. 694.

(90) Austen 1945 pp. 18-22.

(91) Seligman 1910 p. 665; Austen 1945 pp. 19, 21; Malinowski 1929, p. 25.

subclan of Liluta-Osapola, the next in rank to the Tabalu in the district and hence their greatest rivals and most important affinal allies; this in fact contributed to his achieving the succession. He now received wives from the Lukuba owning subclan of Tilakaiwa, the Lobwaita, who as we have seen are the largest and most important commoner subclan in the Omarakana cluster; from the Gumguyau lesser Chief of Kwaybwaga cluster, and from the senior headman of the Kaibola cluster. These marriages signalised his acceptance by the most important of the cluster and village headman of the district as the next Guyau, and were followed after two or three years by his first paka, or "feast of merit", organised with the help of his affinal allies and the members of his village cluster. Thus in effect the first marriages confirmed his right to the position of Guyau, the period during which he consolidated this position served to demonstrate his personal qualities to other cluster leaders of the district, and the holding of his first paka constituted a public assertion of his readiness to claim the support of those who had not already allied themselves with him. According to informants, this paka would in olden times have been followed by formal demands for wives from any of his traditional followers who did not voluntarily offer them, but Mitakata could not of course do this because of the Administration's ban on warfare.

Nevertheless in the few years following this paka he received wives from the other localities represented by his affinal alliances in 1950-51, first from the coastal villages of Northern Kiriwina, and later from the southern clusters of Tilataula district. The alliances with the northern Kiriwinan villages are regarded as traditional and, according to informants, would follow more or less automatically upon the recognition of the new Tabalu

Guyau by the ranking cluster leaders of Kiriwina district; but they are also conditional, in as much as there was some delay while the conduct and personality of the new Chief were assessed, and in that the alliances would not be continued if the new Chief lost his personal prestige and reputation as a good leader. To'uluwa thus lost his, and with it his allies other than his cluster followers and a few immediate neighbours, whose political and economic interests are so bound up with those of any Tabalu Chief that they constitute in effect a sort of permanent nucleus of supporters, without whose consent in the first place no one could succeed to the position, but who cannot readily repudiate a Guyau once they have recognised him.

On page 665 of his Melanesians of British New Guinea, Seligman listed (with varying spellings of their names) the villages of Kapwani, Mtawa, Liluta, Savi and Kokokaibidi (parts of the Diaghila cluster), Kwaybwaga, Yolawotu, Tilakaiwa, Wakailua and Kaulagu as having been destroyed together with Omarakana and Kasanai in the last major war in the Trobriands, 1899-1900. This list of villages, together with the Kaibola-Idaleaka cluster, constitutes the range of affinal allies traditionally identified with the Tabalu Chief in the Omarakana alliance. It is within this range of clusters that the Tabalu is referred to as "our Chief" (da Guyausi), in the sense of his being the only Chief with a traditionally valid claim to the economic and political support of all the corporate groups in the district, having the right to receive and the duty to redistribute their wealth, and the responsibility of leading them in their political relations with each other so as to provide the necessary degree of coordination and compromise between their individual interests as independent local or kinship groups and the need to subordinate these in their

mutual benefit in economic relations and in their political relations with the followings of other leaders. As has been seen the necessary coordination and compromise is achieved through the acknowledging of the Chief's personal rank and prestige by his followers in entering into tributary affinal alliances with him, and his powers of leadership derive from his status as their common brother-in-law, not from his tenure of any specific office in an administrative or other hierarchy.

The third stage in the new Guyau's career began when, having consolidated his position among his followers in Kiriwina district, he was in a position to demand tribute, in the form of affinal alliances, from the leaders of village clusters in other districts. The first of these were normally those of Tilataula, and the demand for wives from these would in olden times be made under the threat of war, which was normally unnecessary and inappropriate in the Guyau's relations with his followers in Kiriwina district. The Tilataula village clusters in the Omarakana alliance of 1950-51 accepted Mitakata's claim for wives and tribute without the threat of war, but partly at least because this sanction was replaced by Administrative backing of Mitakata's position. His predecessor To'uluwa had obtained wives from the southern Tilataula villages at the beginning of his career but lost their support when his reputation and power later declined. Mitakata obtained wives from them also after the opening stages of his career, and had retained at least their formal recognition of his leadership up to 1951. Had he been able to employ the traditional threats of warfare as well as magical sanctions, he could doubtless have extended his power considerably farther; indeed disturbances in the Island following the withdrawal of Administrative control

in 1942, during which European property was raided (92), arose primarily from attempts to re-establish the military domination of the lagoon by the inland villages, and Mitakata claimed that as a result he had in fact been promised wives from Luba and Kulumata districts. Administration returned too soon for negotiations to be concluded, but it is possible that the fact that men in two Luba clusters gardened for him in 1950, as noted on pp. 502-503, may derive from these efforts as much as from their sentimental regard for their previous allegiance to To'uluwa, or the now dead Tabalu Chief of Olivilevi.

Fighting in the form of destructive raiding was thus a normal mode of interaction between the followings of different political leaders; but frictions or conflicts in the relations between the affinal allies of a Chief which cannot be resolved by negotiations under his auspices should and normally are resolved in competitive activities such as the kayasa of various kinds, or in the exchange of foodstuffs in the buritilaulo (93). If these did not result in a reconciliation, a formal fight (94) might ensue in olden times, unless the Chief with the backing of his other followers intervened to prevent it. The formal fighting was however governed by rules which limited its destructiveness and would be supervised by the Chief's representatives. Today of course no such fights can be staged, but four buritilaulo challenges occurred in 1950-51, two between followers of Mitakata, one of which was a

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(92) Cf. Austen 1945 p. 58.

(93) V. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 181 ff; Austen 1945 pp. 52-53.

(94) V. Seligman 1910 pp. 663-664; Malinowski 1920 passim.

minor affair between residents in Yolawotu and Kaulagu villages which was finally settled by the intervention of the village headmen, while the other occurred as a result of an insult offered by a Liluta man to Kasai the headman of Diaghila village. This revived a traditional rivalry between the two clusters, and threatened to develop into a major affair, but Mitakata intervened both as Guyau and in his capacity of Government-appointed senior Chief to prevent the buritilaulo contest taking place, for fear of its giving rise to fighting. Another buritilaulo occurred between the villages of Kabwaku and Kabulula, traditional rivals in the following of the Toliwaga of Kabwaku, who sought the assistance of Mitakata and other Chiefs and headmen in restraining the participants in the event from fighting, and the fourth occurred between Tukwa'ukwa and Okopukopu villages in the following of the Tabalu Chief of Tukwa'ukwa, which was settledpartly by the intervention of the Catholic Fathers of Gusaweta.

It will be apparent from the foregoing that the relations of the local groups associated in the Omarakana and other alliances are and always have been characterised by a degree of friction and competition that is the more intense and disruptive the closer, both spatially and socially, the relationship between the associated clusters. Yet the ecological situation makes more or less intensive interaction between them not only inevitable but also desirable for economic of for no other reasons, as we saw in Chapter I. The Chieftaincy, resulting from the focussing of social relations within districts upon men distinguished by rank or seniority through their polygynous marriages, confers upon such men a limited right and ability to influence and direct the interaction of their tributary affines, and thus provides a

minimal degree of stability and continuity in the economic and political relations of the local groups within the districts. That is, the associated institutions of rank and polygyny have the structural significance of establishing and maintaining relations of formal interaction between the component local descent groups of a Chief's following, in the absence of which the traditional and recurrent rivalries and conflicts between adjacent groups might have resulted in conditions of recurrent fighting with loss of life and destruction of property such that many communities could hardly have survived. On the other hand, it appears that the need for cooperation and coordination in the relations of local groups was not so strong as to bring about the emergence of permanent centralised administrations even within districts, still less over the whole of Kiriwina Island. Relations between neighbouring districts are characterised by traditional hostilities and in olden times particularly by a more or less continual struggle for dominance, interrupted periodically by the temporary emergence of one or another Chief as the tributary overlord of the rest.

Other Alliances.

The followings of other leaders in the various districts as they were in 1950-51 are indicated on Map 3 by the pecked brown lines enclosing local groups associated with the two leading Toliwaga headmen of Tilataula district, and the pecked blue lines enclosing the followings of the two Tabalu Chiefs of the village clusters of Gumilababa in Kuboma and of Tukwa'ukwa in Kulumata-Luba districts. The large village cluster of Kavataria-Mulosaida in western Kulumata constitutes a political unit under the leadership of the Tabalu Chief of Mulosaida, and, before the cadet branch of Tabalu established

there in the late 19th century died out at about the time Mitakata became Chief at Omarakana, the villages of southern Luba district constituted an alliance under the leadership of the Olivilevi Tabalu also (95). The present followings of the other political leaders, like that of the Omarakana Tabalu, are almost certainly smaller than they were in pre-European times, owing to the elimination of open warfare under Administrative control.

Two general points must be borne in mind in the present discussion; the first is that although the superior rank of the Omarakana Tabalu Guyau was and is generally admitted by other leaders, together with his having, in virtue of his rank and control of the tourikuna magic, a better right than anyone else to claim and, if he can, to exact tribute from others, nevertheless the other leading chiefs and headmen deny that the Omarakana Chief is or ever was in a position of formal authority over them in virtue of his rank(96). Malinowski has said that in their heyday the old Chiefs of Omarakana may have had up to forty wives (97), and present informants have claimed that some of them had wives from all over Kiriwina Island, while no one has suggested that anyone other than the Omarakana Tabalu had anything like so many wives. It seems likely however that the area over which Tabalu Chiefs could exercise effective power never exceeded northern Kiriwina Island in fact, though the superior rank of a Chief who had achieved a position of such wealth and power undoubtedly would be acknowledged throughout the Islands of the group and beyond, but outside this area he could hardly have

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(95) Cf. Malinowski 1922 pp. 66-70. V. also Austen 1940 pp. 271-272.

(96) Cf. Seligman 1910 p. 694.

(97) 1922 p. 64.

waged war to the extent of exacting wives and regular tribute. Probably most of the Omarakana Guyaus did not extend their sphere of effective power, by obtaining wives and regular tribute, much beyond the district of Tilataula, and it seems that they could only achieve this by overcoming the military power of the Toliwaga leaders of that district. It will be noted that the villages listed on pp. 693-694 of Melanesians of British New Guinea as those which acknowledged the supremacy of To'uluwa in 1904, after the peacemaking ceremony of 1900 described on pp. 665-668 of the same work, are all in Tilataula district, while the peacemaking itself involved the recognition by Moliasi, the then Toliwaga of Kabwaku, of To'uluwa's position as Guyau; that is, Moliasi acknowledged To'uluwa's rank in making peace, but this did not in itself set up a tributary relation between them. Later, however, To'uluwa received wives from some of the southern Tilataula clusters, which thus accepted a tributary relation with him.

The Structural Significance of Formal Warfare.

The second general point is that the recurrent wars between the Omarakana Guyau and his followers in Kiriwina district and the Toliwaga of Kabwaku and his followers in Tilataula, in the pursuance of which the Omarakana and Kabwaku alliances were formed and reformed according to the varying fortunes of the leaders, never aimed at or resulted in the usurpation by either leader of the position of the other. Thus as is recorded on p. 665 of Seligman's work, the last major war in the Trobriands resulted in the total defeat of Numakala and his permanent following in Kiriwina by a coalition of village clusters in Tilataula district which had repudiated their tributary relations with Numakala on the grounds that he did not properly fulfil his duties as

their Guyau, i.e. as their common brother-in-law whose rank and power they had acknowledged in giving him wives and tribute. The Tilataula people were led by Moliasi the Toliwaga, who apparently had remained outside the Omarakana alliance and seized the opportunity afforded by the revolt among Numakala's allies in Tilataula to reassert his own claim to leadership in that district by organising the war against Numakala. But there was no question of his being recognised as Numakala's superior in rank as a result of his victory, still less of his taking over the position of Guyau - as he might have done had it been an office in a hierarchical institution, and he the leader of a revolt against his superior in a centralised political system. Nor was there any question of Numakala's losing his rank as the result of his defeat; it was not the rank of Guyau that To'uluwa as Numakala's successor regained at the peacemaking of 1899, but his village and lands, and his place in Kiriwina district, which had been lost temporarily as the result of the defeat.

This is of course in accordance with the native conception of land ownership, according to which land is identified with as much as owned by a given subclan and cannot be alienated from its members permanently in any way. In practice of course when a subclan dies out its lands are taken over by another, as in the case of the disappearance of the Ilaolabuma subclan which in Malinowski's time owned the site and lands of Kupwakopula adjacent to Tilakaiwa (Map 5). Since its disappearance its titles have passed to the Lobwaita subclan of Tilakaiwa, whose headman and garden magician treat its lands as their own in virtue of their status as affinal kin of the extinct subclan; at present the fact that the land belonged to the extinct subclan

is remembered, but no doubt in time this will be forgotten. Again Malinowski has shown how titles to land may be relinquished by the original owners in favour of higher ranking immigrants into their village (98). Neither of these processes however involve the forceful seizure of the rights of one subclan by another, and according to informants no war could result in this. In principle also no Chief or headman could deprive owning subclans among his following of their lands, or allocate their land to others, though he could allocate land belonging to his own subclan to non-members for their use; in practice, no doubt, a powerful Chief could deprive some of his followers of their legitimate rights by invoking sorcery or otherwise, but only at the risk of alienating his following as a whole.

Malinowski, in his article on War and Weapons in the Trobriand Islands (99), characterised the traditional fighting of the Islanders as a sort of "social duel", the aim of which was the pursuit of glory (butura) and the humiliation of rivals rather than the obtaining of economic advantage. The present analysis suggests however that warfare was in practice the ultimate means by which the Tabalu Guyau in particular could extend his power over regions other than Kiriwina district, in which his position and rights which were traditionally acknowledged through the voluntary acceptance of its village cluster leaders of tributary inferiority to the Omarakana Chief. The result of the successful exercise of his power by warfare or its threat was undoubtedly that he received wives and tribute from those whom he

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(98) 1935 I pp. 358-369.

(99) 1920 passim.

overcame, and to this extent economic and political motives entered into Trobriand warfare. A successful Tabalu Chief could expect token tribute at least from other localities than those actually conquered as well. At the same time it appears that no effective steps could be, or at any rate were, taken by the victorious Tabalu Chiefs to eliminate the possibility of future revolt by once beaten rivals; they certainly had not succeeded, and probably never attempted, to establish a permanent military autocracy over the whole Island by the time European intervention in the early 1900's resulted in a "crystallisation of the actual position" at that time, as Bellamy pointed out (100). There have been subsequent changes - e.g. the loss of his following in Tilataula by To'uluwa in his later career, and the partial recovery of these by Mitakata, together with the emergence of a Toliwaga leader of importance in Tubowada village where in olden times the Toliwaga of Kabwaku was leader of all Tilataula - but these have resulted from the operation of factors other than military power, or at least from processes other than war.

In as much therefore as the aim of formal warfare (as against raiding, which probably occurred in times of crisis, especially of famine, during which it appears that the whole social system more or less broke down temporarily - 101) was not the permanent elimination of possible or actual economic and political rivals, it may be said that such warfare was an end in itself, and that the rivalry between district leaders and their followers was and is essential to the indigenous social system. From one viewpoint,

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(100) Quoted in Seligman 1910 p. 694.

(101) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I, pp. 161-164.

this rivalry seems to be the factor which in practice made it possible for the leaders to unite their various followings; the local groups of Kiriwina in practice joined forces in support of the Omarakana Guyau largely in order to protect themselves against the claims of the Toliwaga of Kabwaku, who in turn could use the aggressive claims of the Guyau to build up his own following in Tilataula. The recurrent fighting between the two factions thus provided a safety-mechanism which released the tensions engendered by the suppression of inter-local group rivalries within the districts or alliances in the interests of political alliances which in turn make continuing economic and social interaction between the groups possible. From another viewpoint, the position of the Toliwaga of Kabwaku may be seen as that of a check upon the personal power of the Tabalu Chief, in as much as if the latter were excessively extortionate in his demands for tribute or did not observe his reciprocal obligations to his affinal allies the Toliwaga's prestige and reputation as a warrior offered the means of organising a revolt against the Guyau. That is, the tributary relations between the Guyau and his followers could be repudiated by the latter if they invoked the help and military leadership of the Toliwaga, and <u>vice versa</u>; discontented tributary allies of the Toliwaga could obtain the support of the Tabalu Guyau by acknowledging his superior rank and thus invoking both his magical powers, which in the shape of his control of the <u>tourikuna</u> magic of famine or plenty established him as the most potent Chief of all the Trobriands, and his military power as district leader.

To go to war with a Chief implies however either that there is no existing contractual relation of affinal, or as we shall see clan, kinship

with him, or that such an existing relationship is being repudiated. In other words, warfare and the existence of kinship or affinal contractual relations are mutually exclusive. By kinship relations in this sense are meant not merely membership of the same clan as such, or the existence of some traceable relationship of indirect affinal kinship, but the existence of effective contractual relations established by a specific marriage as e.g. between a cluster headman, and hence his following who in turn are contractually related to him by specific marriages, and the acknowledged leader of the district, or another cluster headman. Clan kin inevitably fought each other sometimes in as much as the clans are represented in all districts and warfare took place normally on a district basis. But in as much as the members of most subclans live in the same or adjacent village clusters as we have already seen, and formal warfare is regarded as improper and rarely took place between adjacent clusters or those associated in the following of a district leader, whose headmen are either related to each other affinally or are affines of the same Chief, subclan kin would not normally find themselves on opposing sides in organised warfare, though of course they might do so in intra- or inter-village brawls, or in buritilaulo or kayasa competitive activities between associated villages and clusters. Thus in principle at least the possibility of formal warfare is eliminated where formal kinship contracts are established, but is always present in their absence.

Structurally, therefore, Trobriand formal warfare can be understood as the analogue in social organisation of a conceptual relation of non-communication between units in the structural system of communication as

discussed in Chapter III, which obtains where units are not in states of communication with each other. That is, formal warfare is the alternative, as it were negative, aspect of the mode of formal interaction established by the contracting of formal kinship relations between structural units of social organisation, especially by the marriages of their members. As we saw at the beginning of the Chapter, such units, i.e. subclans, and the relations between them are structurally significant in the systematic organisation of social interaction in as much as they are identified with localities, villages or village clusters, which are thus characterised as kinship structured units of interaction in social organisation. It is between local groups as thus defined that formal warfare occurred as the alternative mode of interaction to that established by contractual kinship relations. At the same time this formal warfare is itself a contract between such units in a sense, since it is initiated by a formal challenge and its acceptance and is fought under established rules, while it results not in the elimination of the defeated party, but in a readjustment of its relations to the victor. From this viewpoint warfare is interpreted as a contractual relationship of competitive interaction between units which occurs where cooperation is unnecessary or undesirable, the aim of formal warfare as a technique of social interaction being to restore and maintain a relation between the units such that warfare remains possible. According to this view warfare between the Kiriwinan Guyau and the Tilataula Toliwaga would occur whenever one of them had attained such a position of power in relation to the other as to threaten the permanent loss of the other's ability to compete further with him; the aim of the fighting would then be, not the

elimination of either party as a competitor for power by the other, but the restoration of their relative power to a point at which they could continue to compete. This would explain the traditional restoration of defeated adversaries to their position, as occurred after the defeat of the Tabalu Guyau in 1899.

Two points follow from this. The first, which is raised rather than answered here, is that the structural interpretation implies that the extent of the Omarakana alliance in 1951, when it corresponded roughly both with the traditional district of Kiriwina and with the following of the Guyau as restored by To'uluwa shortly after the peacemaking of 1900, represents the optimal range of local groups among which economic and political relationships could be coordinated, on the basis of contractual affinal relations focussed upon the Guyau as district leader, under the indigenous social system. This of course assumes that the system qua system was in a state of equilibrium at the time when warfare as one process of interaction whereby its equilibrium was maintained was eliminated by the establishing of the alien centralised administrative system. This in turn implies either that the formal kinship system could not operate efficiently as the basis of continuing social relations between associated corporate groups on a larger scale, or that, if it could, it was not desirable under the indigenous system that it should; or, more probably, that both these views have significance. The indigenous system whereby economic and political relations are organised on the basis of the polygynous marriage contracts of men distinguished by rank or seniority could well be said to be inefficient in as much as such men's powers of leadership are at once limited and ill-

defined, being as they are the by-product, as it were, of institutionalised relationships the primary or conscious functions of which are not economic or political organisation as such. Similarly the processes by which such men can exercise the power they achieve are time and energy wasting, from the viewpoint of coordinating action, involving as they do more or less protracted manipulations of claims and counterclaims, continual negotiations and seeking for compromises, and so forth - since, in short, they are the same processes by which all alliances between equals are conducted. But the need for more efficient coordination is itself limited, by the small scale of the groups involved and by the relatively simple nature of the economic and political problems with which the system had to cope, as posed, as it were, by the ecological and demographic situation. The apparent absence of any pre-European culturally alien groups which might constitute a threat to the position of the Trobriand population as a whole may be noted in this connection.

The second point is that Trobriand formal warfare, as the recurrent overt manifestation of continuing competitive relations between associations of local groups, characterises the relationships of adjacent rather than of spatially separated alliances or districts. It is indeed only in the relation between the Toliwaga and Guyau and their followings in Tilataula and Kiriwina that intensive and recurrent military rivalry seems to have occurred. Some other district leaders, notably the Tabalu Chiefs other than the Omarakana Guyau, claim virtually equal rank with him, but none of them, according to tradition and such records as are available, appear to have competed with him in extending their power (though other adjacent alliances

and districts competed with each other to varying extents - 102), while his closest rivals in rank in Kiriwina district are regarded as his most important traditional allies. Only the Toliwaga of Tilataula, who is definitely the Omarakana Guyau's inferior in rank, appears ever to have contested his power and military might directly. Mitakata's followers explained this on the grounds that since none approached the Omarakana Tabalu in rank, no one except he had any right to claim or seek tribute from others than their immediate followers, while of the Toliwaga's military rivalry they said simply that it had always been so. What seems clear for present purposes is that, whatever its historical or traditional explanation, it was only the opposition of the Toliwaga that prevented one or other of the Omarakana Chiefs from establishing permanent control of at least the whole of northern Kiriwina Island, and thus possibly laying the foundation of a developed centralised political system which would have led to marked changes in the existing social system.

<u>The Tabalu Subclan in Political Organisation</u>.

The relationships between the Omarakana Tabalu and the leading men of districts other than Tilataula appear to have varied according to the existing political relations of the Omarakana Guyau and the Tilataula Toliwaga. When the Guyau was in the ascendant, having for the time being established a degree of control over Tilataula district through affinal alliances with a sufficient number of its cluster and village headmen to neutralise the Toliwaga as a threat to his power, other district leaders seem

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(102) Cf. Malinowski 1922 Cap. II Sec. V.

to have acknowledged the position of the Guyau by giving him at least ceremonial tribute, while some entered alliances with him either by giving him wives or by acknowledging him as their clan or, in the case of Tabalu chiefs, as their subclan "elder brother" and making pokala tribute to him, as discussed above pp. 416 ff. When on the other hand the Toliwaga's power was in the ascendant, other districts leaders seem to have ignored the Omarakana Guyau's claims to their allegiance, but not to have joined the Toliwaga in attacking him. Thus Numakala after his defeat by Moliasi of Kabwaku was able to take refuge in Luba district, while the peacemaking of 1900 apparently involved only the Toliwaga and the Omarakana Guyau and their district followings, not other district leaders as would be expected had they been involved in the conflict as allies of either main party.

One major change that appears to have occurred in the alignments of local groups in the major alliances since 1900, is the appearance in northern Tilataula of a separate alliance centering upon the Toliwaga headman of Tubowada village cluster (Map 3), which in Seligman's account is included in the following of the Kabwaku Toliwaga, although northern Tilataula may even at that time have been semi-independent of the Kabwaku Toliwaga, acknowledging his seniority only when he as against the Omarakana Guyau was in power. But it will be observed from the map that with the exception of these two Toliwaga-led alliances in Tilataula, all the other alliances in northern Kiriwina Island center upon Chiefs of cadet branches of the Tabalu Subclan. Malinowski has discussed the processes that led to the settlement of some of these branches in the lagoon areas of the Trobriands (103), and

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(103) Esp. 1935 I pp. 364 ff.

this will not be examined here. As already noted, the Olivilevi branch has died out since Malinowski's time, but no other major changes have taken place in the relations of these Chiefs with their neighbours, except that their power, like that of the Omarakana Tabalu, has been restricted in certain respects, though stabilised in others, by European influence, as is indicated in the next Section.

It will be noted however, that no Tabalu cadet branches have settled in villages of either Kiriwina or Tilataula districts. This is probably because such branches would have been unwelcome as possible competitors with the Omarakana Tabalu on their "home ground", as it were, and with the Tilataula Toliwaga on theirs also. The spread of Tabalu to the lagoon area could hardly threaten the Omarakana Guyau's position directly, however, and, provided he could achieve the necessary power in his own district and in relation to the Toliwaga, might enable him to claim tribute from that region as the "elder brother" of its leaders. For the Tabalu Chief of Omarakana seems undoubtedly to be regarded as the superior of the others in rank and prestige if not in actual power at any given time, while although the others deny, as do all cluster and village headmen of any clan or subclan except those with whom the Tabalu Guyau of Omarakana is actually in alliance, that he has any authority over them in virtue of his rank as such (p. 511 above), nevertheless of all the Tabalu chiefs only the Omarakana Guyau is credited with control of the Tourikuna magic and hence of the prosperity of the Islands. There is however some evidence that the connection between the branches of the Tabalu subclan is of more than merely nominal significance apart from the possibility of its utilisation for political purposes by the

Omarakana Guyau.

Thus Bellamy has stated that while seniority in rank and power is respected among the Tabalu chiefs as such, still seniority of age is also recognised, so that while To'uluwa was undoubtedly recognised as senior among his contemporaries in the former respects, "... if there be a senior or supreme chief it is Pulitali of Mulosaida, (To'uluwa's) elder brother" (104). In 1951 informants from the lagoon area maintained also that the Mulosaida Tabalu Chiefs had in the past been as powerful as those at Omarakana, and there was a suggestion that some of them might have become Chiefs at Omarakana. Informants in the Omarakana cluster believed that Mitakata, at the time when he succeeded To'uluwa, had caused the death of the last of the Olivilevi Tabalu Chiefs because there was a faction in Kiriwina district which wanted the Olivilevi Chief rather than Mitakata as the new Omarakana Guyau; this was strongly confirmed by Mrs. Lumley of Gusaweta, who claimed to have played a part in the events that culminated in the Olivilevi Chief's death. Whatever their bases in fact, these statements indicate that in principle members of the cadet branches of the Tabalu subclan could succeed to the Omarakana Chieftaincy.

Structurally however the subclan kinship relation between the branches of the Tabalu subclan does not in itself establish a specific political or economic relation between the alliances or districts associated with the various branches. It does provide a means of structuring such relations whenever the Omarakana Chief succeeds in practice in extending his political

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(104) Quoted by Seligman 1910 p. 694.

powers beyond the limits of Kiriwina and Tilataula districts but it does not appear that other Tabalu Chiefs could have achieved a similar dominance, in as much as the unique ritual position of the Omarakana Guyau, as controller of the Tourikuna magic, has the effect of keeping his position superordinate to that of other Tabalu Chiefs, and indeed of all other leaders, whenever a formal kinship relation is established contractually between them. At the same time the possibility that members of the cadet branches of the subclan might succeed to the position of Omarakana Guyau implies that an exceptionally powerful Tabalu Chief in one of the cadet branches might be able to "translate" himself, as it were, to Omarakana, and such an event would have the effect of establishing, at least temporarily, a structurally significant kinship relation between him and anyone who replaced him in his original village.

Clan Kinship in Social Organisation.

Clan kinship relations as means of structuring inter-district relationships appear to have a similar significance to the subclan kinship connections of the Tabalu, and perhaps of the Toliwaga who are apparently all members of the same Lukwasisiga subclan. In the process of extending his political power beyond the limits of Kiriwina district, the Omarakana Guyau for instance would demand affinal tribute (urigubu) from village clusters in other districts or even, if he felt strong enough, other alliances, where the headmen were of different clans to his own; where they were of the same clan, as are the other Tabalu Chiefs, he would demand tribute as pokala (105), as their senior clan or, in the case of the Tabalu, subclan kinsman. Should he

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(105) Cf. Malinowski esp. 1922 p. 181.

prove able to consolidate his powition, however, he would seek to reinforce the clan by an affinal tributary relationship; either attaching the cluster headman of Mailasi clan to his senior wife as his fictitious "affine" as in the case of the Mailasi headman of Yolawotu village (pp. 399-400), or obtaining a wife from a subordinate owning subclan of the cluster concerned with which the Mailasi cluster headman was already in affinal relations, so that he would then provide urigubu tribute for the Tabalu Guyau as the latter's wife's affine as well as or instead of pokala tribute as the Tabalu Guyau's clan kinsman. In the internal organisation of local groups, however, clan membership has only ceremonial significance, as we saw in Chapter I part 2, Section 2b (106); even when local populations are divided for ceremonial purposes into clan alignments, as e.g. in mortuary rites or public dance festivals, the event is still organised on the basis of subclan membership, there being no clan organisation as such, the various local descent groups under the subclan leaders cooperating as independent units under the general direction of the organiser of the event. Thus clan kinship is of limited structural significance in terms of the present concept of structure.

Breaches of Clan Exogamy.

Breaches of clan exogamy may be related to this limited structural significance of clan kinship. Malinowski has noted that the Mailasi in particular had a reputation both as breakers of clan exogamy and as people who married their daughters (107). The latter tendency has already been

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(106) Cf. Malinowski 1922 pp. 70-71; 1929 p. 421.

(107) 1929 pp. 432, 447.

related to the preeminence of the Tabalu Chiefs and the renewal of their affinal alliances from generation to generation (Chapter II Sections 3 and 4), and similar considerations will explain the former also. I recorded eight cases of marriages between members of the same clan (but none of marriages between subclan kin), six being between members of the Mailasi and two between members of the Lukwasisiga clans. One of the Mailasi endogamous marriages was that of Vanoi the present heir designate to the Tabalu Guyau, to whose marriage as an index of the present weakening of the Guyau's position allusion has already been made. Another of these marriages involved a woman of the Tabalu clan, and the other four, members of other Mailasi owning subclans in the Omarakana cluster. According to Mitakata no Tabalu Guyau would ever marry a Mailasi woman, and there is no tradition of such a marriage; a Chief would be "shamed" by such a marriage. But the procedure whereby Mailasi village or cluster headmen can be counted as affines of the Chief in order to reinforce the clan by a fictitious affinal tributary relationship might serve as a precedent for actual marriages between members of Mailasi subclans in other cases to achieve similar results, as e.g. between the two Mailasi owning subclans of Yolawotu joint village; and this in turn might lead to a weakening of the rule of exogamy within the clan in general. The two marriages between members of the Lukwasisiga clan both involve men of the Bwaydaga (Kwoynama) subclan's cadet branch at Omarakana, and it will be recalled that this is the highest ranking and most important subclan in Kiriwina district after the Tabalu; thus these may also be interpreted as evidence and results of the relative inadequacy of clan kinship in structuring inter-local group relations. At the same time the

importance of clan exogamy may have been affected by European influence even in Malinowski's time; if so, since then it has been further weakened, as is evidenced by Vanoi's marriage and the endogamous Lukwasisiga marriages, in as much as Malinowski stated that only Mailasi married their clan kin in his time.

However this may be, clan kinship relates, whatever their original structural significance, seem by the XIXth century at least to have become inadequate in themselves as bases of inter-cluster and even more of inter-district contractual relations of major political significance, and tend still to be reinforced or replaced by affinal contractual relations of one sort or another in such cases. Nevertheless, as we have seen in Chapter IV, Section 5, individual members of local groups can utilise clan kinship relations in interaction with members of other distant groups, while men of rank can use their prestige and wealth similarly in the absence of formal kinship relations, where a short term economic or other relationship is concerned; e.g. in obtaining fish in individual vava barter transactions in the lagoon villages, or in obtaining special services such as those of sorcerers or skilled wood carvers from Boytalu and associated villages (108). But such transactions are possible only when social intercourse is not impeded by hostility between the local groups concerned, or those lying between them, so that clan kinship and rank can facilitate such ad hoc interaction only where formal relations of cooperation are established by existing subclan or affinal contractual relations between localities. As Malinowski's accounts have shown, however, some regular economic interaction is highly desirable between certain areas of the Island, e.g. between inland

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(108) Cf. Malinowski 1921 passim; 1922 esp. pp. 96-98, 167-176.

and lagoon villages and between the villages of Boytalu cluster which specialise in woodworking and other parts of the Island, even where relations are otherwise actually or potentially hostile; and herein may be found the structural explanation of the Kula.

The Kula in Social Organisation.

European influences had, even by Malinowski's time, resulted in a considerable reduction of the structural significance of the Kula. In particular, membership in the circle had been widened in his day, and has since been even more extended, from the pre-European situation in which partnership in the Kula exchanges, but not participation in other aspects of the complex of activities associated therewith, was restricted to Chiefs and cluster and village headmen and other senior members of the participant local groups (109). With this in mind, the Kula may be understood in the internal social organisation of localities, especially the participating districts, as one of the monopolies of privilege by which the positions of the district leaders are reinforced, like the traditional Chiefly monopolies of pigs and palm trees. Participation in it and in the economic exchanges associated with it were and are important in motivating the organisation of social relations between the villages in the participating districts in alliances by means of the formal kinship system; but within them the Kula was and is entered through kinship relations usually, and partnerships are also largely associated with kinship relations (110). On Map 2 are shown the groupings

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(109) Cf. Malinowski 1922, pp. 81, 91; Austen 1945 pp. 21, 26. Malinowski's account in this work is taken as the basis of the present analysis, and no attempt is made to amplify it here, though it is hoped to do so in a later work.

(110) Malinowski 1922 Chapter III Section IV.

of villages in the various districts (111) into Kula fleets; it will be noted that there are two such fleets in Kiriwina district, and this is related to the internal exchanges within the district, in which the various cluster Chiefs and headmen are involved.

The structural significance of Kula is however to be sought in its importance in the relations between districts in the Trobriands and between the Trobriands and other Massim communities. Briefly, this may be stated to be that Kula ensured the continuing of basic economic interaction between the Trobriand districts even when warfare disrupted other social interaction, and that it is what underlies all interaction between the Trobriands and other Massim communities. Malinowski, while primarily concerned in the Argonauts of the Western Pacific with the ceremonial and magical aspects of Kula, recognised its importance in the regional economy of the Massim area (112), while Austen was told by his informants (113), as was I by mine, that it was the Kula that enabled the populations of some of the small neighbouring Islands, as e.g. the Amphletts and Iwo and Gawa (Map 1), to survive, by ensuring that they received from Kitava or Kiriwina garden produce to supplement their own inadequate and less reliable production. Nowadays more than ever, though also in olden times, the special products imported in the incidental Kula exchanges, e.g. greenstone axeblades and

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(111) Ibid. Chapter II Section V, Chapter XIX.

(112) Ibid. Introduction, Section I, and passim.

(113) 1945, p. 26.

pots and so on, are not essential to the Trobriand economy; in pre-European times most gardening was accomplished by the use of fire or shells for clearing sites, and stone axes were available to a relatively small proportion of the population, while the pots are used only on ceremonial occasions, so that these and other imported articles must be regarded as luxuries rather than essentials. But the obtaining of yams and other foodstuffs was and is still a matter of economic necessity to the Amphlett and Marshall Bennet Islanders, and the Kula ceremonial exchange with the as it were artificial values which reinforce it and the incidental transactions attendant upon it ensures the satisfaction of this need.

But comparable economic significance attaches to the inland, i.e. inter-district, Kula in the Trobriands also to some extent. Thus Austen has remarked that "the very trading of fish from the coastal villages to the inland people is interconnected in some way with the Kula" (114). The interconnection is twofold; firstly when an inland village needs fish in quantity for any purpose the leaders try to obtain it by the wasi system, formally presenting a gift of garden produce, the acceptance of which imposes on the recipient lagoon village the obligation to conduct a fishing expedition for the inlanders (115). The organisers of the inland village's enterprise are enabled to impose this obligation upon a lagoon village by invoking their Kula partnerships, especially those of their headman and the headman of a lagoon village. Secondly, and more fundamentally, the Kula relationship

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(114) 1945 p. 26.

(115) V. Malinowski esp. 1922 pp. 187-188.

not only enables a claim to be exerted upon the headman of the particular lagoon village, but ensures that the inlanders can visit his village without danger, even in time of war. Malinowski referred to the position of the overseas Kula partner as a "host, patron and ally in a land of danger and insecurity" (116), and the same description applies though to a lesser extent to the partner in inter-district Kula within the Trobriands. In short, the Kula provides both motivation and means for the maintenance of minimal regular economic interaction between districts within the Trobriands no less than between the Trobriands and adjacent Islands. This is so even where villages or districts do not form part of the Kula circle themselves; thus for example the socalled "pariah" villages of Kuboma, Boytalu and its neighbours, which do not participate directly in Kula exchanges, are drawn into economic relations with Kiriwina district when the preparations are made for a sailing to Kitava by the Kiriwinans' need for accompanying and opening gifts (117).

Kula partnerships especially between Chiefs or headmen of distant villages and districts thus provide "channels of communication" between their local groups through which not only flow, as it were, a variety of objects of greater or lesser economic utility, but also are maintained relationships of potential if not actual political significance. That is, the Kula partnerships between Chiefs in the Trobriands are not in themselves of specifically political significance, except in so far as through them are

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(116) 1922 p. 92.

(117) Ibid. Caps. VII, XXI.

maintained connections between the various districts where otherwise the only mode of social interaction between them might be warfare. Structurally, then, the Kula partnership can be explained as a contractual relationship between representatives of local groups whereby minimal reciprocal interaction is maintained between them, the ceremonial exchanges established by it having a similar significance from this viewpoint to that of marriage as the basis of the lubou relationship in inter-local group relations. Kula partnerships have this significance in inter-group relations in so far as they result in cooperative interaction in economic exchanges and social intercourse between the residents in the pursuance of their competitive ceremonial exchange relations; and in so far as they occur in inter-local group relations where the factor of distance, physical as in inter-island relations, or social, as where hostility and warfare as a technique of political interaction between districts or alliances, precludes the organisation of interaction through kinship, especially affinal, contractual relations, while ecological or demographic factors nevertheless make minimal cooperative interaction desirable or necessary between the local groups despite their spatial or social separation.

In as much as any kinship, especially affinal, contractual relation of interaction consists in and is contingent upon the proper ceremonial observances, spatial separation of local groups, or their separation by other hostile groups, by preventing such interaction, also tends to prevent the satisfactory operation of such kinship contracts as the basis of other interaction between local groups and their members. Whereas the Kula is found in its most fully developed form, in terms of ceremonial and magical

observances and of the interest and sense of achievement aroused, the more distant the localities visited, as Malinowski's accounts demonstrate the opposite tends to be true of kinship, especially of affinal, relations. But if spacial and social factors do not produce too great a separation between localities, clan kinship may provide the formal basis of relations of lesser structural significance between them, whereas Kula partnerships cannot of themselves serve as adequate contractual bases of intensive political relations between local descent groups or districts. Thus when the political power of the Omarakana Guyau in relation to that of the Tilataula Toliwaga was not great enough to enable the Guyau to impose tributary alliances upon most of northern Kiriwina Island, especially the lagoon villages, the Kula partnerships between local group leaders in the districts ensured minimal economic and political interaction between them. But when the Guyau's power was great enough to enable him to exact tribute and exert political control over the lagoon villages, his position was formalised by affinal alliances with their leaders, not in terms of his Kula partnerships with them, which then assumed the same significance as the partnerships between local descent group leaders within Kiriwina district. The same would be true of the Guyau's Kula partnerships with Chiefs in Kaileuna and Kitava etc., in so far as he may from time to time have been able to extend his political control to these Islands.

Briefly, then, it may be said that where a district Chief effected extensions of his political power beyond the limits of his normal alliances, his position in relation to local groups in other districts might be formalised initially in terms of clan kinship relations, but that these would

be reinforced or replaced by affinal contracts of various kinds wherever possible. Otherwise, however, the Kula relations between district leaders especially kept open channels of economic and limited political interaction between the districts which otherwise were in relations of actual or latent hostility, expressed in formal warfare. Wherever formal warfare has appeared as a factor in the preceding analysis, however, the evidence is necessarily to some extent indirect, since it is not an element in social interaction under the present Administration; it is therefore necessary to show how and to what extent the indigenous social system has been affected at the present time, since European influences have been present in the Trobriands for over half a century, and have frequently been referred to in the present Chapter. These influences will therefore be discussed briefly before a summary of the Chapter and the Thesis as a whole is attempted.

Section 6. <u>European influences in Trobriand Social Organisation</u>.

I hope in a separate work to examine the course and the processes of contact between European and indigenous cultures in its own right; here I am concerned only to substantiate the extent to which the foregoing analysis refers to and derives from the existing situation in the Trobriands; or rather, as was indicated in the Introduction, in Kiriwina district as exemplified in the Omarakana village cluster. There is some evidence to suggest that greater changes have occurred in the lagoon area because of closer contact with European influences generally, and in particular as a result of the pearl fishing between the World Wars; thus it seems e.g. that subclan membership and virilocal marriage have been replaced to some extent in that area as determinants of rights of ownership in villages by birth to

female residents irrespective of whether the village is that of their subclan or not (118). Moreover in other Trobriand districts, notably Sinaketa and Vakuta, rank appears to have a different significance in indigenous social organisation; as Malinowski said, "In Vakuta, the typical Papuo-Melanesian system of government by tribal elders is in full vigour", while ecological factors associated with the cultivation of taro as the staple food may affect the significance as well as the form of urigubu, and of marriage also (119), so that indigenous social organisation may have been different in these regions even in pre-European times.

But the statistical and other evidence obtained in 1950-51 and presented here indicates that the indigenous social organisation of Northern Kiriwina as here analysed has not been changed fundamentally by the fifty and more years of contact with European influences; what does appear to have happened is that the operation of the formal system of kinship and rank has been restricted in some directions, while some modes of social interaction appropriate to its operation, notably formal warfare, have been eliminated, and to some extent replaced by others, without destroying the structural significance of kinship and rank. That is, some elements of total Trobriand culture have been lost or modified without changing either the indigenous social system or its explanatory structure as here conceived. For example, some beliefs and traditions about the afterlife and origins of customs reported by Malinowski, have been forgotten or have lost their meaning for

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(118) Cf. Julius 1947, pp. 59 and 60 (text).

(119) 1922 p. 69; also 1935 I Chapter X, and pp. 479 ff.

the Trobrianders, having to some extent been displaced by Christian teachings; but as already noted the subclan myths of origin and the dogmas of procreation and matrilineal descent are still maintained and retain their structural significance in northern Kiriwina, though in the lagoon area there are indications that this is no longer the case, while it may not remain so elsewhere for long. Certainly, however, Malinowski's dire prophecy that "At the death of (To'uluwa) ..... a complete disorganisation is sure to take place among the natives of the Trobriands, and is certain to be followed by a gradual disintegration of culture and extinction of the race" (120) had not been fulfilled by 1951 - partly, I believe, because Malinowski's works contributed towards a change of Governmental and Mission policies, as noted in the last Section. No less important however is the fact that the indigenous social system was at the time of To'uluwa's death and has remained since essentially alive, ecological and other conditions to which it is adjusted having remained unchanged despite European contact, the changes in the total culture having been relatively superficial, at least in northern Kiriwina. I shall leave to a later work attempts to apply the conceptual approach developed in Chapter III above to the processes of culture change in Kiriwina, seeking here only to show as briefly as possible that the foregoing analysis of the indigenous social system remained valid as lately as in 1951.

Economic Organisation (121).

The data set out in the present work are evidence that despite over

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(120) 1929 p. 115.

(121) Cf. Austen 1945 Secs. iv, v, ix; Mair 1948 Caps. V, IX, XI.

seventy years of contact with Europeans the Trobrianders' economic organisation, like the ecological situation to which it seems to have been well adjusted, has not been changed fundamentally (as of 1951); their economy has literally been in contact with rather than integrated into world economy. Subsistence production of garden crops and sea foods has been improved technologically by the introduction of iron and other metal tools etc., and facilitated by the elimination of warfare; but at the same time the increased efficiency of the individual gardener has been offset to a considerable extent by the weakening of some of the mechanisms, notably the role of the garden magician and his rituals, which maintain and reinforce the traditional productive organisation, the basis of which remains the corporate village gardening or fishing team structured in terms of the formal kinship system (122). Distribution is still in essence an aspect of kinship and Kula relationships among the natives, though the structural significance of the latter institution in this context has been modified, since the "white man's peace" nowadays ensures the safety of travellers; but as noted in the last Section, the natives themselves believe that it is the Kula which ensures barter between the Trobriands and neighbouring Islands, and that the latter would be in a difficult position economically without it.

The Trobrianders have always been familiar with barter as such, as their use of the term gimwali (123) in itself demonstrates, and barter amongst themselves freely but only within the framework of formal

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(122) Malinowski 1935 I p. 479; Austen 1945 pp. 43-48.

(123) Malinowski 1922 Index s.v.

relationships established in terms of kinship and rank or the Kula. Experience of trade with Europeans has not so far affected this; the exchange of garden and sea produce between inland and lagoon villagers for example is still conducted by the indigenous wasi and vava techniques, nothing approaching a marketing system of distribution having developed in this or any other connection. Indeed credit transactions between traders and natives are regarded by the latter as a form of wasi and are termed as such, and among themselves they seem to use the money received from traders in the same general way as their own valuables in ceremonial exchanges, although it is sometimes, perhaps increasingly, used in barter (gimwali) transactions between individuals (124). During the hey-day of pearl fishing before the world slump of the 1930's, the lagoon villagers seem seasonally to have bought quantities of garden produce from the inlanders so that their economy may have tended towards seasonal cash production of pearls, as it were, and it was probably this that caused in large part any differential cultural changes there may be in the lagoon region; but the pearling died out during the slump, and has not revived at all since the last war (125).

Nowadays the Trobrianders are dependent upon the production of copra for the satisfaction of their requirements in European trade goods, which so far remain not much greater than before the war, and in this connection the Government-enforced planting of coconut palms, not only along the roads and paths but also in communal village plantations (126), has stood them in good

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(124) Cf. Austen 1945 pp. 24-25.

(125) Cf. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 18-20; Austen 1945 pp. 23-25, 45-46, 57-58; Mair 1948 p. 83, 132.

(126) Austen 1945 pp. 19-20; Mair 1948 pp. 83 ff. esp. 85, 87.

stead, though many of the palms thus planted from 1910 onwards are today near the end of their fruitful lives, and no organised effort has so far been made to replace them. On its present basis however their trade in copra cannot do more for the Trobriand people than enable them to meet their consumer requirements for European imports at about the prewar level, while should there be another slump in the world market for copra they have no adequate alternative resource. There is little trade in such products as beche-de-mer (127), and there has been some talk of developing an export trade in garden produce since the war, there being an expanding market ready in the urban centers of Papua and elsewhere; a proportion of the annual surplus is regularly sold to Mission, Government and traders partly to meet their own consumer needs in the Trobriands, and partly to send to other establishments and markets (128). But so long as the ecological situation outlined in Chapter I Part I Section 1 remains unchanged the annual main harvests are in my own view not reliable enough to provide the basis of a change towards cash production and the integration of Trobriand into a wider New Guinea economy, and to deal with this situation some investment of capital not at present available would be necessary.

There has never been much inducement for investment by major European enterprises in the Trobriands apart from Administrative restrictions (129); the cocomut plantation on Muwo Island is the only example of such investment other than that represented by the resident traders, and Muwo is

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(127) Cf. Mair 1948 p. 83.

(128) Cf. Austen 1945 pp. 44-45.

(129) Cf. Mair 1948 pp. 72-79.

run by its manager with imported labour. The Trobrianders have never taken kindly to indentured labour overseas, or even to service with resident Europeans (130), and the money and goods brought into the Islands from this source appears never to have been more than negligible except possibly in Vakuta. Thus to date the effect upon the indigenous Trobriand of contact with European economy as such has been limited to a degree of improvement at the technological level offset by some dislocation of organisation of production, an extension of the range of commodities available to the average Islander and of his economic contacts with the outside world; but it has not disrupted the indigenous productive organisation altogether, while internal distribution remains based on the indigenous system. In as much as the latter derives from the operation of the formal system of kinship and rank this has not been disrupted by the economic aspect of the contact situation as such either, although its operation has been indirectly modified by this and other aspects of the situation. The most important of these is probably the superimposition of the Administrative system of social control through mechanisms and offices created and maintained for the specific purpose of maintaining law and order as conceived and understood by European officials upon the indigenous system of social control and political organisation as conceived in and explained by the present structural interpretation of the formal kinship and rank system.

Administrative Organisation. (131)

As indicated above, the Trobriand system of kinship and rank retains

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(130) Cf. Julius 1947 pp. 44-45; Mair 1948 p. 132.

(131) Cf. Austen 1945 secs. iii, x; Mair 1948 Caps. II, III, X.

its basic structural significance at the level of economic organisation in general, but its efficiency, especially in the organisation of production in the corporate gardening team and at the level of concentration of wealth for communal purposes in the hands of the leaders, has been affected adversely by changes in the mechanisms by which the chiefs' and headmen's positions are maintained. In the early years of administration the indigenous system was misinterpreted, and steps were taken by Mission and administrative personnel alike to break what they interpreted as the oppressive hold of the ranking Chiefs and headmen upon the rest of the population, by removing the traditional props to their position; specifically by discrediting polygamy, beliefs in beneficent magic as well as sorcery, and the conception of rank in itself, and by breaking the chiefs' "monopolies" of native valuables, pigs, cocomut and areca nut palms - all of which are of course integral elements in the indigenous economic organisation as well as in the structural system of kinship and rank as the basis of social organisation in general (132). In the 1930's however, Austen as Assistant Resident Magistrate at Losuia, helped by Malinowski's works and with the support of Judge (later Sir Hubert) Murray, then the Administrator of Papua, took steps to reinstate the indigenous leaders in order eventually to integrate them into the administrative hierarchy, introducing a system of payments to them, in particular to the Omarakana Chiefs whomhe recognised (with no justification in indigenous terms other than the superiority of their rank) as Paramount over Kiriwina Island (133), and at one time according to native informants (I could find no

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(132) Cf. Malinowski e.g. 1929 pp. 28 (n. 2), 114-115; Austen 1945 pp. 18-21.

(133) Austen 1945 pp. 21-22.

official record) establishing a subsidiary "civil" court at Omarakana, under Mitakata, complete with a native clerk, a representative of the Royal Papuan Constabulary and a flagpole.

The Bareki System.

From early times local administrative officers in Papua have appointed Native Constables to represent the Administration in designated localities, who are paid to enforce Native Regulations and other orders issued from time to time (134). The Trobriand Islands are divided into a series of localities each with a Native Constable in charge, under whom each such locality is responsible for constructing and maintaining collectively a Government rest house, known as a bareki ("barrack") by which term the Kiriwinans also designate the locality and its population. The Trobriand bareki are represented on the overlay to Map 2 (Appendix), from which it will be seen that while on the whole they do not cut across traditional village cluster groupings, they do to some extent cut across traditional districts and even more the existing alliances represented on Map 3. In early days when policy was to discredit the native Chiefs the Trobriand administrative officers sometimes chose and encouraged Native Constables to oppose them, but this changed to some extent when in 1925 Murray as Administrator of Papua inaugurated the appointment of Village Councillors, and still more when Austen began to revive the roles of Chiefs.

The responsibilities of the Village Councillors were variously interpreted by different local administrators (135), and Austen in the Trobriands was

(134) V. Mair 1948 pp. 45-48.

(135) Ibid. pp. 48-53.

probably more liberal than most. He "set up a body of village councillors in each district, consisting in a number of chiefs and headmen. They were to meet when required, and discuss and determine civil claims, including such matters as ownership of land and trees, matters relating to kula, payments due to a man on the remarriage of his divorced wife, and any other minor disputes which could be settled outside of a government court. In addition ... it was hoped that the councillors would arrange times for the cleaning of roads, for repair to houses, and for other village matters that might crop up from time to time". But what Austen called "criminal" cases, arising from adultery, use of obscene language, assault, theft and sorcery, were reserved to the Assistant Resident Magistrate's (now Assistant District Officer's) court at Losuia, to which there was appeal also in the "civil" cases, while of course he and his detachment of Papuan Native Constabulary were responsible for maintaining peace and ultimately for enforcing compliance with Native Regulations, and submission to the local Village Constables' and Councillors' authority and findings (136). With few exceptions the village councillors were in fact the traditional headmen of their local groups, chosen for their prestige and standing among the villagers, and the recognised senior, or highest ranking, cluster headman or Chief in each bareki was more or less officially recognised as the senior Councillor or Chief of the bareki and acted as a sort of chairman and spokesman of its council. The government appointed Village Constable of each bareki, who was not a councillor but who in fact often proved to be a junior subclan kinsman or affine of the bareki Chief, was held by the villagers at least to be responsible to the council as

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(136) 1945 p. 50, and pp. 51-55.

well as to the government's representative at Losuia, and councillors were expected to assist him in his duties, while he was expected to enforce its decisions on matters within its jurisdiction when necessary.

This system has operated more or less effectively, according to the use made of it by successive government officers in the Trobriands, up to the present. After the Japanese War a new policy in regard to village councils was formulated by the reconstituted civil Administration, under which they were to be developed, and native courts established, as Mair has reported, "on the lines of the African Native Authority system, in so far as this is applicable to very small political units" (137). The Trobriand bareki councils were already approaching such a system under Austen and the more able of his successors; but further development since 1945 has been handicapped by discontimuity in local administration because of frequent changes of Australian personnel at Losuia, where there have been at least four Assistant District Officers and as many Patrol Officers since then. This is partly due to shortage of personnel in the Service, but also, it must be said, to the inadequacies of some individuals; at any rate none of these officials have had much opportunity to get to know the people, still less their language, even when they have wished to do so. The result has been on the whole not development of the pre-war system, but rather a failure to maintain even the standard of understanding and integration of the councillors achieved by Austen and one or two others, so that today few of the Trobrianders seem to have any genuine understanding of their pre-war roles

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(137) 1948 pp. 229-230; cf. also pp. 231-232.

as conceived by the Administration's representatives, still less of the post-war developments envisaged by the new Papua-New Guinea Adminstrative Service.

Attitude towards the Bareki System.

It will be apparent from the foregoing that there are superficial resemblances between the bareki council system and the indigenous village cluster and district or alliance councils, as discussed in Sections 4 and 5 of this Chapter; thus the members are largely the same as those of the traditional cluster and district councils, though groupings of villages in the latter do not correspond directly with the bareki, and they are expected to discharge duties similar to some of those of the traditional councils; but the differences are greater than the resemblances. Apart from obvious ones - e.g. the procedure of official appointment of councillors as against the traditional processes of selection of headmen and Chiefs by elimination; the keeping of official records (inadequate though they be) by Village Constables, the specific powers and duties conferred upon the councillors under Native Regulations such as keeping roads clear and so on - probably the most important basic difference is that the bareki council and the position of its members is a creation of the alien administration, which endows it with specific authority and powers "from above", as it were, making it a link in a hierarchical system of institutionalised authority alien to the Trobrianders both in form and in operation. The indigenous village and other councils were and, in as much as they still operate, are products of the formal kinship and rank system which has no specific constitution as a system of administration, but grows up "from below", as it were, in meeting relatively limited requirements for economic and political cooperation between autonomous

local groups; while in operation the indigenous de facto councils are highly flexible both in what they do and in how they do it, for they are not formally constituted nor their aims and procedures codified as are the bareki councils.

The Trobrianders are well aware of these similarities and differences, even though few could formulate them clearly; but this awareness is apparent in their attitudes towards the bareki system and the Administration in general. Whereas some administrative and mission officials still regard the indigenous chieftaincy as dictatorial, oppressive and "undemocratic" the Trobrianders tend to regard the regime of the Administration as arbitrary, often unjust by their standards and its aims as incomprehensible. There is still in fact a strong element of the authoritarian paternalism that characterised Judge Murray and his pre-war regime in the attitude of older administrative and most other Australian personnel towards the natives, and this is felt and resented by the Trobrianders (138). For example, when I was leaving one of my friends remarked that I should be missed not only for my tobacco but also because "you always talk to us as though we were men; they (the resident whites) talk to us as though we were bad children". Again one of the cluster headmen who was also a councillor once remarked of the Administration "The old chiefs may have been sorcerers, but when they called a kayaku they had to listen to what we said; the Gabemani (A. D. O.) is not a sorcerer, but when he calls a kayaku he first gives us his orders, and after that we cannot tell him what is in our minds. That is not a

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(138) Cf. Mair esp. pp. 12-14 and 231.

proper kayaku." Nevertheless few of the more responsible Trobrianders if any seem as yet to resent the presence of Administration or other alien personnel as such; they do not want to return to the old days of fighting and are well aware of the advantages of trade, especially of the insurance against famine represented by European resources and the Administration (139); while the Missions represent to the Trobrianders the only way open to them at present of acquiring the knowledge which they believe would enable them to become wealthy "like the whites".

Missions and Social Organisation.

The Methodist Overseas Mission established a resident white missionary at Oiabbia on the lagoon in the early 1900's, and has since followed the same general policy in the Trobriands as in other parts of Melanesia (140); the Catholic Sacred Heart Mission (141) established a station at Gusaweta in 1935-6, to the resentment of the Methodists, although the Catholics declared they were interested only in converting the pagan native, not the Methodists' adherents. The Methodists have had village churches and schools with resident pastor-teachers, many of them non-Kiriwinan (142), at most of the village clusters of any size for many years; the Catholics have established one native teacher with a church and school at Okaikoda, and village churches in a few other villages which the Fathers and teaching

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(139) Cf. e.g. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 479-480; Austen 1945 pp. 44, 45-46.

(140) Cf. Mair 1948 pp. 161-166, and index s.v. Missions, Methodist; Austen 1945 pp. 46-48, 56.

(141) Cf. Mair 1948 index s.v. Missions, Catholic.

(142) Austen 1945 p. 56.

Sisters visit regularly, while during 1951 they were beginning to build a new station at Liluta-Osapola where one of the Fathers was to be permanently stationed. The Methodists' fear that the Catholics may gain ground from them is not without justification; Liluta was a Methodist village before the Catholics got a foothold there, while Catholic ritual seems to appeal to many natives, their school teaching is on the whole better and, perhaps most important, they make fewer demands upon their adherents for material support. Whereas the Methodist station must support itself, the Catholics are supported by funds from Australia, thus being able to reward their adherents for services rendered with gifts in the proper traditional manner, whereas the Methodists have to ask for gifts from theirs.

Both Missions run residential schools, the Methodists have a white lay sister who acts as a sort of district nurse while the Catholics have a small hospital run by nursing Sisters. Mission medical activities in Kiriwina are however ancillary to those of the Administration; one of its earliest hospitals was established at Losuia by Bellamy in 1907 to deal with venereal disease, and has been maintained since the Japanese War with a white Medical Assistant in charge of it and of a team of Native Medical Assistants stationed at dispensaries at strategic villages in the Islands (Map 3 overlay - 143). To date however the Trobrianders have developed little faith in European medical work; patients have to be ordered into hospital as into prison and mostly remain there only under protest, while the only remedy

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(143) Cf. Austen 1945 p. 17; Mair 1948 pp. 174-179, esp. 174.

sought from the dispensaries is quinine. This is demanded for all ailments other than physical injury by the Trobrianders, and most patients given other treatments are trapped, as it were, by their quest for quining. Government medical personnel have the power of inspection, sanitary as well as medical, of villages, and under Native Regulations can order sufferers from obvious illnesses, e.g. yaws, to report themselves for treatment. This has not however undermined the Trobrianders' beliefs in sorcery and counter-magic as the cause and cure of most forms of illness and death (144), and the medical orderlies in the villages are tolerated rather than accorded any respect in virtue of their offices and training. During 1951 a refugee central European doctor was appointed to Losuia, and plans were put into operation for expanding the hospital and medical facilities in accordance with post-1945 Administrative policy (145).

Missions and Magic.

It is difficult to estimate to what extent Christian teaching has been assimilated by the Trobrianders, and their own beliefs in magic superceded. I am of the opinion that except in a few individual cases the average native is little concerned with religion as such, and has little or no appreciation of the deeper aims of Mission activities. Most of my informants seemed to take the view that so far as dogma is concerned, Mission teaching may be right, but that it is no immediate concern of the natives. As to beliefs in the afterlife, native ideas have been adapted to some extent to Christian

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(144) Cf. Malinowski esp. 1929 index s.v. Illness and Disease.

(145) V. Mair 1948 pp. 227-228.

teaching about heaven; but if the average native Christian is asked what he believes his answer is "How should we know? We're not dead yet!" Although the full sequence of garden magic was performed in only 15 out of about 60 villages in 1951, this was not because the Trobrianders have lost their belief in magic. When I asked Touladoga the Tilakaiwa magician why he was performing the Momtilakaiva garden magic (146) in Tilakaiwa for the first time since the war while Omarakana was having none on its new gardens, he explained "The Missions are here; they tell us their ritual works better than ours - good. If there is famine we shall not starve, for Government is here. So we let them make prayers for us (tapwararoro). But two harvests - three harvests - crops are bad; so this year we kayaku, we say all right - we will use the magic again". Thus it seems that it is the use of, rather than the beliefs in, magic that has been suspended as a result of white influences; this is probably true of sorcery and the magical powers attributed to Chiefs as well as of garden magic.

Missions and Morality.

Effective morality however is still, so far as I could judge, uncompromisingly Kiriwinan, at least in Omarakana cluster and neighbourhood. All the spontaneous evaluations I heard made of conduct and so forth were by traditional not by Christian standards, from sex morality and upwards. None of the couples in Omarakana cluster had been married "Christian", but one such marriage occurred in Kwaybwaga cluster church during 1951. There have been changes such as the disappearance of the bachelor houses from most

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(146) Malinowski 1935 I esp. pp. 278 ff.

villages, modifications in burial practices and so forth in response to Missionary and Administrative pressure, and practices such as the katuyausi amatory expeditions are now conducted secretly rather than publicly (147). But this is hardly the result of acceptance of Christian ideals of chastity; a favourite occasion for more or less surreptitious katuyausi is Sunday, because "it is a holiday, and the boys and girls are together after Sunday services"! Similarly forty years of compulsory road and village cleaning and house improvement have not made the average Trobriander value cleanliness or better houses for their own sakes. The natives refrain from fighting among themselves not because they have come to regard it as morally wrong, but because they know they will be imprisoned if caught but why they are imprisoned they do not understand; 30 men from the Kabwaku cluster were imprisoned for "riotous behaviour" after the buritilaulo of 1950 (Omarakana Alliance, Section 5 above) reasons for their punishment suggested by informants, including the village councillors and the Chief, were that they fought on the roads not in the bush; on Friday ("Government Day", when weekly work on roads etc. is enjoined); with knives instead of with sticks and so on - but never because fighting as such is wrong and punishable. This is not stupidity; it is rather that there is still no real "link up" between European and their own standards. The Trobrianders conform outwardly to what is required of them by Missions and Administration out of their traditional respect for power and wealth, out of good manners and out

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(147) Cf. e.g. Austen 1945 pp. 28-31; Malinowski 1929 pp. 61 228-231.

of pragmatic self interest, and because they feel the advantage of some of the resultant changes in carrying on their traditional social life (148); but this very surface adaptability, which is I believe related to the vitality and resilience of their traditional social system and organisation, makes them more or less unconsciously highly resistant to ideas or practices that would affect the traditional way of life in its essentials - especially those aspects of it that I have here analysed structurally.

The Native Pastors.

Thus in Omarakana village cluster the native pastor, a man from Luba district, and his Mission activities in many ways are outside the main stream of village life, although about 50 percent of the cluster population are registered members of the village church, and all the children must attend its school under Native Regulations, while 10-15 percent of the population go to Sunday services more or less regularly. Two or three men in the neighbourhood (the Omarakana pastor serves other than the Omarakana cluster villages) sometimes act as lay preachers and are personally closer to the pastor than others, while most people treat him with politeness and regard his presence in the village as appropriate to its traditional importance; but he takes little or no part in public affairs, except when the two main annual events of Mission life come round. At the time of the main harvest an annual collection (semnakai) is taken up by Methodists throughout the Trobriands, partly for the support of the local Mission at Oiabbia, partly for donations to other stations in Papuo-Melanesia. There is a certain

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(148) Cf. Austen, 1948 pp. 56-59.

amount of competition between the various village churches, and in Omarakana cluster the pastor appealed to Mitakata for help, and a collection of money and gifts, yams etc., was organised on the lines of contributions to a traditional kayasa; but the appeal made was phrased in terms of local patriotism, not of support to the Mission as such, donations being made by non-members as freely as by members of the church, although the actual presentation to the Mission was made by the pastor in the name of the local church.

Again every Christmas, the Methodist Mission holds a celebration, which is termed kayasa by the natives and is organised along exactly the same lines as their traditional inter-local group competitive dance or other festivities, the various pastors having roles analogous to those of cluster headmen and the white Missionary playing the part of leading Chief (though he hardly realises it, of course), while the native pastors at Oiabbia and the more important village churches have roles analogous to those of district or alliance Chiefs. The parallels in organisation are conscious, and the celebrations are compared to and discussed in the same terms as the indigenous kayasa.

There is a similar celebration held at Losuia by the Administrative staff at the New Year, popularly known as Gabemani la kayasa. This is again organised like the Mission kayasa, but the units are the bareki, whose Constables play the part of cluster headmen, while the members of the detachment of Papuan Native Constabulary at Losuia have roles like those of district Chiefs and the Assistant District Officer, the Gabemani whose kayasa it is said to be, has the role of the leading Chief in whose honour the

celebration is held, again paralleling native kayasa organisation. In all these events there are elements of competition; in the collection for harvest donations, in contributions for ceremonial containers of yams and in sporting events at the Missionary Christmas kayasa, and in food contributions and team games and dancing at the Administration's New Year kayasa. Donations are made and teams are entered in the name of the bareki and its Constable or the village church and its pastor as the case may be; but the organisation through which the donation is collected and prepared, or football or dancing teams assembled and rehearsed, is that of the traditional village cluster. In Omarakana it was in 1951 Mitakata who, endorsing the appeals by the native pastor and the village constable of the Omarakana bareki for donations, organised local contributions to both kayasa, exhorting the members of the villages to maintain the prestige and renown (butura) of their Chief and his following by supporting the local representative of the Mission and Administration. For the latter's kayasa in particular, Mitakata exhorted his followers to take the opportunity of disproving rumours current in more distant parts of the Islands that Kiriwina and its Chief were impoverished because of a bad harvest (as in fact was the case) by contributing generously to the ceremonial container of yams to be sentto Losuia in the name of Omarakana bareki and its Constable, who was in effect regarded as the representative of the Chief.

The Omarakana native pastor and his church played little or no part, except on Sundays, in the corporate affairs of the village other than on these occasions, however; he hardly ever took part in public discussions of the cluster or bareki council; there were no weddings or christenings

in his church while I was at Tilakaiwa, and although one of his nominal church members died he played no part at her funeral rites, though he attended, and my enquiry whether she would be buried by Christian rites was received with astonishment. This particular pastor was rather a negative personality, however; other native pastors have from time to time played leading roles in local affairs and even challenged native leaders in power, but such men are always highly evaluated by the majority of their followers by traditional as much as by Christian standards. That is, where pastor and headman are rivals, they are so less as representatives of different systems of leadership, than in terms of the native system in which the pastor's position as representative of the Mission gives him a foothold. In Omarakana however Mitakata definitely patronised the pastor, and his right to do so was tacitly accepted. Although he had to relinquish church membership when he became a polygamist, the Chief sometimes attended services and when he did so was given a seat on the pastor's dais; and when any of his wives went they were correspondingly honoured. This situation is I believe fairly typical of relationships between native pastors and traditional leaders in areas other than around the lagoon; they can compete with traditional headmen or Chiefs for leadership only in so far as their position as representatives of the Mission and its apparent wealth and power gains them a foothold in the indigenous leadership system analogous to that which the headman or Chief has in virtue of his rank and seniority. But a pastor's status in the Mission organisation as such gives him authority only within the sphere of Mission activities, and the same is true of the status of the Village Constable in the bareki organisation, except that the Chief may also have a status in that

organisation superior in native eyes at least to that of the Constable. Mission prestige, like that of white men in general, has however been weakened by the effects of the Japanese war, one of which has been to introduce an element of suspicion into the relations between Kiriwinans and European residents.

The Japanese War and its Aftermath.

The Japanese war had similar effects in the Trobriands as in other areas of New Guinea not actually invaded by the Japanese (149). After the evacuation of Europeans in 1942 there was a brief period during which the Islands were not under alien domination, and during this period there was, as already noted, a resurgence of pre-European political conditions, manifested in outbreaks of warfare between some of the traditionally hostile districts and alliances, which suggests that warfare and other disapproved elements in the indigenous culture had been temporarily suspended rather than eradicated or destroyed by pre-war European influences. After this period the existing social organisation was completely disrupted by the military occupation, which turned Kiriwina Island into an air base and transit camp for the campaign to retake the Solomons (cf. Cap. I Part I Sec. 4). Under the control of the Australian New Guinea Administration Unit (Angau - 150) all active men were compulsorily enrolled for labour under conditions of pay and rationing that in the end provoked resentment exceeded only by that engendered by the complete suspension of organised gardening and consequently of all the normal social life of the Trobrianders (151). A little damage

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(149) V. Mair 1948 Cap. X for a general account of conditions in New Guinea and Papua during the war.

(150) Ibid. pp. 185-198.

(151) Ibid. esp. pp. 188-193, 194-195.

was suffered here and there by natives as the result of Japanese bombing raids; but what is remembered most vividly about the War is that it was a period of molu (famine-152) - partly because rations supplied for the non-working natives were inadequate so that some died, but mainly because it was a period of disorganisation of normal life such as used to result from famine and starvation. Military occupation and its concomitants lasted into 1945-1946, when civil administration was restored and civilians began to return, and a period of readjustment set in characterised as elsewhere by shortage of trade goods, transport, Administrative and Mission personnel of even pre-war calibre and so on, as well as of rising world prices that made it harder to satisfy existing needs for European consumer goods.

There have been two major results of the War in Kiriwina, the first immediate and the second rather delayed. The first was that traditional relationships and activities were resumed with an intensity and an energy commensurate with the natives' eagerness to return to a known and meaningful way of life, having had a surfeit of Europeans and their ways. Compulsory labour with the occupying forces terminated fairly abruptly with their departure (153) when there was in any case nothing for the Kiriwinans to do but to resume their traditional occupations. Exactly what happened during this period is obscure; but it seems fairly clear that the initiative in resuming native life and village organisation came from the village headmen and local leaders who, as Councillors and Constables, had under Angau been

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(152) Malinowski 1935 I pp. 160-164.

(153) Cf. Mair 1948 pp. 210-212.

employed more or less as labour overseers and foremen. The Europeans returning to the Islands were beset with problems of their own - traders and Missions with destroyed buildings, scarcity of materials and stores and transport problems, while Administrative personnel faced in addition changes in post-war policy as well as problems such as dealing with claims for war damage from Europeans and natives, - the last of which were still being settled in 1951 (154). Thus they could hardly have given the natives a lead in re-establishing their intra-village life even had they wanted to, while anyway white prestige had suffered a rude jolt as the result of the evacuation of the Islands, which made the Kiriwinans realise that the presence of Administration, traders and Missions was not the unalterable and permanent feature of life it had seemed to be in pre-war days. In these circumstances it is not surprising that there occurred a revival of traditional relationships and activities the more intense because the pre-war adjustment between indigenous and alien social institutions and relations had been disrupted, and the gaps and misunderstandings between them increased.

The second result of the war was a sort of delayed reaction which was becoming apparent in 1950-51. The Kiriwinans had had their first real introduction to the material advantages of European technology and resources during the war, and as the first reaction was wearing off, and the relief of returning to traditional life became less acute, there was becoming apparent a growing dissatisfaction with the existing standard of living in comparison with that of the ordinary white soldiers as seen during the

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(154) Ibid. pp. 219-223.

occupation. Added to this was a strengthened resentment of the resident Europeans' treatment of the natives, which has not materially changed from that of prewar days and which, like that of Angau officers during the war, contrasted very unfavourably with the attitudes of ordinary troops towards the Kiriwinans. Furthermore, post-war Administrative policy had encouraged the Kiriwinans to expect an improvement in their general position, and this was not apparent by 1951, when it seemed to some men that on the contrary they were deliberately being prevented from sharing in European wealth and resources as they believed they were entitled to do. There was a growing demand for better education coupled with a desire for Government as against Mission schools, which was rather aggravated than met by unsuccessful attempts to inaugurate technical training schemes by the Administration, while resentment at the profits made by traders as against prices paid to producers for copra was intensified by a government attempt to introduce cooperative marketing and production schemes which again were unsuccessful mainly because of transport difficulties. There was developing in short a situation resembling in many respects that in which Cargo Cults have emerged elsewhere in New Guinea, though nothing like these has been mentioned by anyone in connection with the prewar situation in the Trobriands (155).

The possible long-term effects of these developments do not concern us here; their immediate effect does, and has been to intensify the lack of understanding between Kiriwinans and Europeans in the Islands and to add an element of mistrust to it. Before the war the general attitude of the

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(155) Cf. Mair 1948 pp. 64-67, 200-203.

Kiriwinans to European control and influences seems to have been to conform to and accept them as far as they were understood while maintaining and even intensifying their existing way of life, and using alien innovations as alternative outlets for traditional modes of behaviour (competitive interaction in terms of the bareki system, Mission organisation and even cricket (156), instead of warfare, for instance). Since the war however the positive desire to conform and understand seems to have diminished along with respect for Europeans, and conformity with Administrative control tends to be regarded as a nuisance to be avoided as far as possible, though the bareki system still serves to reinforce indigenous social organisation. Thus in Omarakana cluster political relations with other traditional clusters and districts tend to be phrased in terms of inter-bareki relations, and leaders compete for prestige partly in terms of their standing with the A. D. O.; but intra-cluster and inter-bareki organisation is carried on as far as possible in terms of the traditional political organisation, Mitakata and his affinal allies running cluster affairs in the old way but relying upon their official status as Councillors instead of the traditional sanctions of which European influences have deprived them; instead of threatening to employ a sorcerer against a man, for instance, a headman may threaten him with arrest and imprisonment at Losuia. Similarly Missions have lost much of the prestige they enjoyed as sources of knowledge of European ways, but still offer outlets for the traditional inter-local group rivalries; the invitation to the Catholics to establish a resident Father at Liluta was a move by Mitakata's greatest rival

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(156) Powell 1952, passim. Cf. esp. Malinowski 1935 I pp. 211-213; Austen 1945 p. 56.

in rank, the headman of the Bwaydaga owning subclan of that village, to increase his prestige at the expense of that of the Tabalu Guyau.

However Mitakata and other Chiefs and headmen are aware that their prestige and power derives nowadays as much from the Administration's support as from their traditional roles as economic and political leaders, since under European control the advantages of inter-cluster alliances for economic and political cooperation and competition with other alliances are so much less. Mitakata's present position derives partly from his traditional sanctions, for his magical and other powers as a wealthy man are still feared though he cannot employ them at present, and partly from his recognition as Paramount Chief by the Administration, which endows him in native eyes with authority in the alien Administrative hierarchy. Nevertheless his position was in 1951 still that of the traditional Guyau, as is indicated by his success in rebuilding and maintaining the Omarakana traditional alliance after the death of To'uluwa, even though in achieving this he employs weapons other than the traditional sorcery and warfare. To this extent the situation in 1950-51, allowing for changes such as the employment of different sanctions and the pursuance of competition and rivalry in new forms of interaction, represents the indigenous social organisation of northern Kiriwina, in so far as this consists in the characteristic patterns in dyadic interaction as explained by the structural significance of the formal system of kinship and rank.

Section 7. Summary and Conclusions.

Granting this assumption, the present analysis of the structure and

organisation of Trobriand society will now be summarised, it being understood that various aspects of the account here presented require fuller treatment, in particular the symbolic interpretation of ceremonial behaviour such as ceremonial distributions, as well as the processes of contact with European influences. But I felt it necessary to develop the present analysis and formulation of the social system and organisation before these and other subjects could be adequately dealt with, as I hope to do in future work. The aim of the present Chapter has been the analysis of social organisation in general as a product of the structural significance of the kinship and rank system in the dynamic interaction of the population, rather than the examination of any specific distinguishable mode of interaction in detail, although necessarily particular attention has been paid to leadership since this is from the present viewpoint the most significant element in the internal and external relations of the units and groups of social organisation. This in turn has involved discussion of political organisation in particular as one aspect of the operation of the kinship and rank system; but it is hoped that in conjunction with Malinowski's works the present analysis of kinship and rank will provide a reasonably clear picture of the economic as well as political aspects of Trobriand social organisation in general.

As I stated in the Introduction, I am not concerned here with possible general methodological implications of the conceptual approach developed here specifically in reference to the Trobriand material, and for this reason have made no attempt to examine it in relation to other methodological approaches, the references I have made to other writers' concepts and to other material being intended rather to aid the exposition of the present than to examine it

in relation to other theoretical views in general; this also I hope to attempt however in the future, if it appears justified. For the present all I have set myself to do is to develop, and here to summarise, a set of concepts which will explain logically and as consistently as possible the characteristic structural features of Trobriand social organisation. These concepts are formulated in terms of the Trobriand system of kinship and rank because Trobriand social organisation and structure are as I see it the product and the conceptual explanation of the operation of the formal, that is the systematic, aspect of kinship and rank relations in regulating and making minimally predictable the dynamic interaction of the total population and its component local populations in all situations and forms of interaction, in so far as regulation and predictability are requisite in the maintenance of such interaction. The present Chapter has embodied an attempt to describe Trobriand social organisation from this viewpoint.

In the preceding Chapters characteristic patterns of dyadic interaction in Trobriand social organisation were not sought in the emotional relationships between members of the population, particularly of local descent groups or subclans and elementary families, nor in the effects of their affective responses to one another upon their dyadic interaction; these were held to be no more and no less systematic in or characteristic of the Trobriand than any other distinguishable population. Rather the patterns were discerned in their formal, systematic and predictable, behaviour as conditioned by standardised relationships with each other, so that it was possible to make valid generalisations such as "Headmen of high ranking subclans tend to be polygynists and hence leaders of their local groups", or "The men of a

subclan provide <u>urigubu</u> for its women's husbands as part of their duties and responsibilities as members of the corporate subclan" - not out of affection for the women, desire to attach their children to the men personally, or even to spite the men's wives, though all or none of these motives or feelings may affect the way in which any individual fulfils his formal responsibility.

Such patterns of formal behaviour and relations detected in the empirically observed data led to the postulation of the formal system of kinship and rank as a set of standardised groupings and categories in reference to membership of which in relation to one another the patterns in peoples' dyadic interaction are established and can be explained, on the hypothesis that the patterns of interaction are in principle systematic and consistent with each other. Membership of the classes or categories and groups was held to provide the basis of formal interaction in as much as people are enabled to place one another in them through the standardised interpretation of their sex, generation and elementary family membership characteristics as these serve as indices of their formal status relations with one another, and the kinship terms were accordingly analysed as designating such statuses and the classes or categories based on them as well as characteristic interpersonal relationships associated with, but not causally related to, the systematic status relations. It then became necessary to explain the specific characteristics of the status system as postulated; but it was held that this could be done neither historically, in the absence of the necessary data, nor by reference to the innate or overt psychobiological characteristics of the population, since these were held not to be unique to the population except in so far as they may be conditioned by

the system, while the patterns of formal interaction, and therefore the system postulated in reference to them, were held to be uniquely characteristic of the Trobriand as against other populations. Furthermore any explanation of the postulated system by reference to the characteristic patterns of interaction in explanation of which it is postulated would, it was held, be tautological and therefore logically inadmissible.

On these grounds another explanation was sought in the logical construct termed social structure, formulated as a conceptual system of interrelated units consisting in modes of communication distinguished in reference to states of communication between units. Thus the formal system of kinship and rank statuses and units was postulated as a logical, not a causal, explanation of the characteristic patterns of interaction of Trobriand social organisation; similarly the concept of social structure was formulated as a logical, not a causal, explanation of the formal system. As a system of groups and categories, however, the postulated formal kinship and rank system is descriptive of empirical reality, in as much as from the viewpoint of each member of the population the rest are divided into kinship groups and categories with rank attributes; but as a system of related statuses the postulated system of kinship and rank is itself a logical construct, which is however held to be of an order of abstraction closer to empirical reality than the logical construct of the structural system of communication, which could be described as an explanatory metaphor, or model, by analogy with which the structural significance of the formal system is to be understood.

As a set of defined units and statuses to which are related the formal groups and categories, of the formal kinship and rank system, and therefore

the structural system of communication formulated in explanation of it, were conceived as by definition static; that is, neither the formally constituted groups and categories as such nor the units and statuses, or positions, in the postulated system were conceived as interacting with each other, and therefore they were conceived also as incapable of changing or adapting themselves. Rather the system was conceived as providing the framework, or frame of reference, of minimal regularity and predictability in the dynamic interaction of the population, which tends to be irregular and unpredictable in as much as people's psychobiological makeup and reactions to one another tend to be unsystematic, and may produce changes in established patterns of interaction in social organisation in response to changes in the physical, social or cultural environment within which interaction occurs. This interaction considered from the viewpoint of its effect upon the characteristic patterns of social organisation, and hence upon the system postulated in explanation of this organisation, was designated the social process; that is the dynamic process whereby the existing social organisation is maintained or modified.

Present day Trobriand social organisation is thus held to be the patterns of dynamic interaction apparent in the relations between individuals and the population units they represent, as the patterns relate to the formal system of kinship and rank as already defined and analysed. The dynamic interaction has the form of cooperation and competition in the pursuit of prestige and power, both between individuals and units or corporate groups, some modes of such cooperation and competition being indigenous, others resulting from contact with alien, that is European, influences in the social environment. These have not however been such as to change the traditional social

organisation and system structurally, that is in such a way as to make it necessary to have taken European influences into consideration in formulating the concept of Trobriand social structure as defined. The competing and cooperating units are the subclans that is corporate groups of individuals delimited on the principle of strict matrilineal descent, in the sense of birth to a female member of such a group, and they constitute local descent groups in as much as they are each associated by tradition, occupation and exploitation with a defined locality, so that their relations and interaction are also relations and interaction between local groups. The corporate local descent groups are permanent structural units in social organisation in as much as membership is in principle fixed by birth, and there are no recognised processes by which existing units cease to exist or new ones come into existence, although in practice some certainly die out and others therefore probably emerge.

The corporate subclan is organised internally in terms of the formal kinship relations of its members, whose roles in interaction with one another are established by their status relations as established by the systematic interpretation of sex, generation and elementary family membership characteristics, the kinship terms in their formal sense referring to these rather than to the members' psychobiological relationships developed in their dyadic interaction. These status relations, or the distinguished positions and roles of internal subclan organisation, are structurally significant in reference to the subclan's formal relations as a corporate group with other subclans, as these are established in the marriages of its members. The structural significance of marriage is thus that it establishes the formal

relations of dynamic interaction between corporate local descent groups, these relations being apparent in and informing the members' competitive and cooperative interaction in reciprocal roles as representatives of their respective subclans. Leadership within the subclan is stabilised in terms of super- and subordination in formal kinship relations to the extent necessary to subordinate competition between the members in the interests of cooperation between them in respect of their corporate relations with other subclans, while the corporate unity of the subclan, and hence its structural significance as a unit of social organisation, results from and ensures the exogamy of its members, in as much as the marriage contract is structurally the means of establishing formal relations of dynamic interaction between subclans as units of social organisation.

Within local residence as against local descent groups, i.e. villages as against subclans, leadership is stabilised to the extent necessary to subordinate competition to cooperation in the corporate interests of the coresidential group in terms of super- and subordination in formal kinship especially affinal relations. Where two or more corporate subclans are identified with a given village the higher rank or seniority of one stabilises leadership by restricting the possibility of competing for it to its members, the other subclan recognising a subordinate kinship or affinal relation to the first. The practices of virilocal marriage and residence in the village identified with the man's subclan together result from and ensure that a significant proportion of the marriages of members of each local descent group place it and the local residence group of which it is the nucleus in formal relations with other local descent and residence groups, so that

adjacent villages tend to be formally related with each other in village clusters. Leadership within the cluster in turn is formulated and stabilised to the extent necessary to ensure subordination of competition among its members to cooperation in the interests of the wider corporate local group in its relations with other village clusters in terms of formal kinship, especially affinal relations. These are focussed by the operation of rank upon the recognised leader of one subclan and village who thus becomes leader of the cluster.

The dynamic social process which maintains the existing patterns of social organisation in the relations of the total population is conceived as inherent in competitive interaction between the village clusters, which are held to be the effective units in the interaction of the total population. That is to say that social process is conceived as inherent in the expansion and contraction of areas of cooperation through competition between village clusters, within which competition for leadership is effectively restricted to the members of the senior ranking subclan, one of whom is however always the leader of the cluster as a whole, and its component groups do not compete among themselves in this respect. The cluster thus constitutes a permanent area of cooperation within which corporate descent and local groups do not compete through formal warfare. This was however one of the forms of competitive interaction through which areas of cooperation focussed on the leaders of village clusters were extended, displays of wealth and other forms of power being others. In inter-cluster competition the rank attribute is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of effective leadership, the qualified leader of a cluster having to convert his qualification into effective power

in such competitive interaction with other qualified cluster leaders. However each such leader is associated with an area over which he would normally succeed in extending his power; these are termed districts in the previous analysis, while the area over which he actually establishes control is that termed the alliance. Warfare between clusters in a district is possible where no existing alliance is operating, so that districts are not necessarily areas of cooperation, while alliances, which are, are not permanent. These are established when and are maintained as long as cluster leaders defeated in competition acknowledge the victor by acknowledging tributary kinship especially affinal relations with him. These ensure cooperation between the clusters concerned so long as they last, but they tend to lapse at latest with his death and the area of cooperation established by them then disintegrates, leaving the process of reestablishing it to begin again.

Thus Trobriand social organisation, of which the social process as here discussed is held to be part, is conceived as dynamic, as is the interaction between the corporate local descent and wider groups in the population; but the pattern of this dynamic interaction is nevertheless recurrent and formalised, and in this sense is static, as are the postulated social system and its conceptual explanation. This static quality may be related to the apparent stability of the social system and organisation in terms of its adjustment to the ecological and demographic context in which it has developed. It has been suggested that the scale of the groups concerned may be relevant here, a hypothesis which might be tested by comparative research in other islands of the group. The Kula was interpreted

structurally as the means whereby minimal social interaction as indicated by the ecological and demographic situation could be ensured between groups in the Trobriand and other populations which could, or need, not cooperate or compete in terms of the kinship and rank system. It has also been suggested that the instability of inter-group organisation might be a condition of the stability of the system, in as much as the crystallisation of this organisation into a centralised system of political control might have proved incompatible with the organisation of interaction in terms of the existing system of kinship and rank. A structural explanation of the fact that the unilineal descent groups are matrilineal rather than patrilineal might be found in this instability of the relations between units of social organisation; if it is a necessary condition of the existing kinship system, then the rigid definition of the units might be the more necessary to ensure stability of the units themselves, and matrilineal might be more satisfactory than patrilineal descent from this viewpoint; but this is conjecture rather than hypothesis. The traditional opposition of certain ranking cluster leaders and the formal warfare, which had the effect of reducing rather than eliminating their power to compete, are more justifiably explained from this viewpoint as mechanisms whereby the expansion of areas of cooperation were held in check and competition between leaders and their followings was ensured, so that Trobriand social organisation and the kinship and rank system could continue to have their characteristic patterns and form. In this connection also the absence of contacts between the Trobriand and hostile alien populations has been remarked,

That European influences had not by 1950-51 structurally changed the

social system and organisation has been explained by the hypothesis that the superimposition of the alien centralised system of administrative control has eliminated neither the competitive relations between village clusters and their leaders nor the possibility of extension and contraction of areas of cooperation in indigenous terms, but has rather suspended some and substituted other forms and areas of competition and interaction in reference to which the indigenous social organisation and system are still valid concepts or formulations, at least in northern Kiriwina Island. Whether they still were then valid in other regions, and how long they may remain so in Northern Kiriwina, are questions beyond the scope of the present enquiry, as is that of the historical origin of the indigenous system and organisation. Some writers, including Seligman and Malinowski, have noted features of Trobriand culture that might indicate the origin of the social system and organisation as discussed here in an incursion of Polynesian elements into an originally typically Papuan or Papuo-Melanesian culture area. Such a view might explain some elements in the material examined here, notably the presence of a rank system and its limited political significance, and the lack of significance of clans as corporate groups. On the other hand the existing indigenous social system and organisation could be spontaneous developments in an originally Papuo-Melanesian type in the peculiar ecological and demographic conditions of northern Kiriwina Island, as discussed in Chapter I. The question has no immediate relevance to the present enquiry, however, the primary aim of which has been the structural analysis of the significance of kinship and rank as the bases of social organisation in the relations and interaction of the Trobriand

population as exemplified by the population of Omarakana and neighbouring clusters, and secondarily the filling in of some of the gaps in the existing material on the Trobrianders. If in the course of the analysis an impression has been conveyed of an indigenous social system and organisation that was still after over two thirds of a century of contact with European influences exceptionally well integrated, and of a vital and resilient population, this is in accord with the impressions I received in the field in 1950-51.

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TABLE I

Native Population
(Chapter I, Part 1, Section 3)

Date	Total	Births	Rate	Deaths	Rate
1913-14	8,500	M.167 F.158	38.2		31.2
1914-15	8,500	436		397	
1918-19	(10,000)	329		344	
1919-20	8,523	341		218	
1920-21	8,781				
1923-24	(8,400)	176		161	
1925-26			26.8		38.3
1926-27		266	30.8	303	35.3
1927-28	8,571	213	24.7	268	31.0
1933	8,544				
1935	8,537				
1936	8,556				
1950-51	9,134	(But including Kitava)			

Available figures for sex and adult-child ratios are as follows:-

1919-20 Adult (over 14) - males 3,158; females 3,854; Total: 7,012
Children - both sexes . . . . . ." 1,511
Births - males 185; females 156.
Deaths - males 105; females 113.

1950-51 Adults - males 3,033; females 2,567; . . . Total: 5,600
Children - males 1,877; females 1,657; . . . " 3,534

TABLE Ia

Omarakana Village Cluster - Population
(Chapter I, Part 1, Section 2a)

	Householders Male	Householders Female	Wives	Children Male	Children Female	Adult Dependants Male	Adult Dependants Female	
Omarakana	21	-	31	22	16	1	1	(92)
Kasanai	12	2	10	8	10	1	-	(43)
Tilakaiwa	16	-	15	19	11	5	2	(68)
Yolawotu	21	-	19	15	13	1	2	(71)
Wakailua	12	2	10	19	6	1	1	(51)
Totals:	82	4	85	83	56	9	6	

Total population of all five villages: 325

TABLE 2

Omarakana Village Cluster - Adult Dependants' relationships to Household Heads
(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2a)

Males	Females
1 Father	2 Sons' Wives
1 Father's Brother	1 Mother's Brother's Wife
1 Younger Brother	1 Adopted Child's Mother
2 Sisters' Sons	1 Wife's Sister
1 Mother's Mother's Brother	1 Wife's Mother's Sister
1 Wife's Father	
1 Wife's Mother's Brother	
1 Wife's Sister's Son	
Total: 9 Males	Total: 6 Females - 15 of both sexes

TABLE 2a

Omarakana Village Cluster - Status of Male Household Heads
(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2a)

33	(40%)	live in their own subclans' villages	
26	(32%)	" "	Fathers' villages
6	(7%)	" "	Wife's Subclans' villages
5	(6%)	" "	Sister's Husbands' villages
4	(5%)	" "	Wife's Fathers' villages
2	(3%)	" "	Father's Fathers' villages
2	(3%)	" "	Daughter's Husbands' villages
1	(2%)	" "	Sister's Daughter's Husbands village
1	(2%)	" "	Mother's Mother's Husband's village.
Total 80			

TABLE 3

Clan and Subclan Distribution - Omarakana Cluster

(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2b)

	Total	OMARAKANA AM	AF	DEP	KASANAI AM	AF	DEP	TILAKAIWA AM	AF	DEP	YOLAWOTU AM	AF	DEP	WAKAILUA AM	AF	DEP
MAILASI																
1 Tabalu	25	2	3	11	1	1	2	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 Osisupa	41	3	4	2	3	2	1	1	1	5	-	1	1	7	4	6
3 Kauoma	17	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	3	4	-	2	2	-	-	-
4 Obukula	16	1	-	-	2	2	6	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	-
5 Kaloni	15	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	2	6
6 Gawari	11	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	5	2	2	-	-	-
7 Kaibola	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Karabida	6	-	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Gubukula	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Waibitu	4	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Losikula	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Obowada	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	148	8	15	23	6	6	10	5	9	20	7	7	7	7	6	12
LUKUBA																
13 Lobwaita	53	4	2	5	1	1	1	7	2	5	2	3	5	2	3	10
14 Mwadoia	7	-	1	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
15 Mwauli	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	3	-	-	-
16 Opisa'ka	5	-	1	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17 Siviyagila	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
18 Obukula	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19 Kumilapi	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 Dubwaga	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 Mlabwaima	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 Tudava	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23 Moligi'gi	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24 Gilawata	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	81	5	6	7	4	4	5	9	3	5	3	6	9	2	3	10
LUKWASISIGA																
25 Bwaydaga	25	7	1	1	-	-	-	1	2	10	1	-	2	-	-	-
26 Wabari	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	-	-	-
27 Sakapu	16	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	2	5
28 Oduka'patu	12	-	2	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
29 Kasowari	6	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-
30 Mukunela	6	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31 Molilagi	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-
32 Mtawa	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33 Kapwani	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34 Kudewoli	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
35 Ulawabu	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	79	8	8	9	2	1	2	2	3	12	11	3	9	2	2	5
LUKULABUTA																
36 Kwoyoma	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	1	1	-
37 Labai	5	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
38 (Vakuta)	3	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39 Wabari	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	17	-	2	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	3	6	1	1	-
TOTALS	325	21	31	40	12	12	19	16	15	37	21	19	31	12	12	27
		92			43			68			71			51		

Note: AM - Male Household heads; AF - Wives or Female household heads; DEP - Dependants of both sexes and all ages. Cf. Table I.

TABLE 4

Omarakana Cluster - Residence Frequencies - Owning and Non-owning Subclans
(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2b)

Owning Subclans	Adults Male A	B	C	Adults Female A	B	C	Dependants Male A	B	C	Dependants Female A	B	C	Totals
Tabalu	3			4	1		7	2		6	2	1	26
Osisupa	7	7	3	4	8	5	6	5	2		4	1	52
Obukula	2	1		2	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	1	19
Kalomi	2			1	3	4		6	2		3	3	24
Gawari	5			2	1		2	1	2			1	14
Lobwaita	7	9	4	2	9	8	5	14	4		7	3	72
Bwaydaga	7	2		1	2		1	8	1		4		26
Totals	33	19	7	16	26	18	24	37	12	9	22	10	233
	59(25%)			60(25%)			73(32%)			41(18%)			
Others (by clan)													
Mailasi		6			15			8			11		40
Lukuba		7			11			5			5		28
Lukwasisiga		16			14			14			10		54
Lukulabuta		1			7			4			5		17
Totals		30			47			31			31		139
Combined Totals	33	19	37	16	26	65	24	37	43	9	22	41	372
	89(24%)			107(29%)			104(28%)			72(19%)			

TABLE 5

Omarakana Cluster - Residence Frequencies - by Sex and Age-Owning Subclans
(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2b)

		Totals	A	%	B	%	C	%
Males	- Adult	59	33	- 56	19	- 32	7	- 12
	- Dependant	73	24	- 33	37	- 50	12	- 17
	- Totals	132	57	- 43	56	- 43	19	- 14
Females	- Adult	60	16	- 27	26	- 43	18	- 30
	- Dependant	41	9	- 22	22	- 54	10	- 24
	- Totals	101	25	- 25	48	- 48	28	- 27
Totals	- both sexes	233	82	- 35%	104	- 45%	47	- 20%

TABLE 6

Omarakana Cluster -
Residence Frequencies by Sex and Age - All Subclans
(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2b)

		Totals	A	%	B	%	C	%
Males	- Adult	89	33	- 37	19	- 21	37	- 42
	- Dependant	104	24	- 23	37	- 36	43	- 41
	- Total	193	57	- 30	56	- 30	80	- 40
Females	- Adult	107	16	- 15	26	- 24	65	- 61
	- Dependant	72	9	- 12	22	- 31	41	- 57
	- Total	179	25	- 14	48	- 26	106	- 60
Totals	- both sexes	372	82	- 22%	104	- 28%	186	- 50%

TABLE 7

Chief's URIGUBU -
Number of donors per household
(Chapter I, Part 1, Section 2c)

Number of Gardeners	Number of households	Totals of Gardeners
3	1	3
4	1	4
5	3	15
6	4	24
7	2	14
12	1	12
Totals	12	72

Average number of URIGUBU gardeners
per household - 6.

(Four senior men of high rank contribute a harvest gift for the Chief's personal main yamstore in addition to one for a wife;
thus these 72 gardeners make 76 contributions.)

TABLE 8

Other URIGUBU - Number of donors per household

(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2c)

Number of Gardeners	Number of Households	Totals of Gardeners
0	14	0
1	31	31
2	21	42
3	13	39
4	4	16
5	1	5
Totals	84	133

Average number of URIGUBU donors per household - 1.6

(Note: Three households of men who had quarrelled with their affines and were temporarily not receiving harvest gifts from them are not included.)

TABLE 8a

URIGUBU - Number of Recipients gardened for by Omarakana Householders

(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2c)

4 of them gardened regularly for no one
42 " " " " " one person only
33 " " " " " two persons
4 " " " " " three persons
1 " " " " " four persons

These men thus garden for 1.5 heads of households each; the Chief, on the other hand, gardens for only 0.3 men per household of which he is the head.

TABLE 9

Spatial Distribution of Urigubu Presentations
(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2c)

The vertical columns C., O., K., T., Y., and W., designate respectively the Chief and the other householders of the villages of Omarakana, Kasanai, Tilakaiwa, Yolawotu and Wakailua.

The sub-columns R and G under these indicate: Under R - the number of men who ~~re~~present urigubu to the Chief and householders. The villages of residence of these men are shown to the left of the table. Under G - the number of men to whom the Chief and householders present urigubu.

Thus, taken with maps 2 and 3, the table shows the range of villages from which the Chief and householders of Omarakana village clusters receive, and those to which they send, urigubu, and the numbers of persons concerned.

	C.		O.		K.		T.		Y.		W.	
	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G	R	G
INTERNAL												
Omarakana	8	3	16	22	3	5	1	6	2	1		2
Kasanai	2		2		10	10				4		1
Tilakaiwa	6		2	2	1		22	11	5	2	1	1
Yolawotu	1		1	2	2		2	1	13	16	1	3
Wakailua	2				1		1	1	3	1	12	9
Total	19	3	21	26	17	15	26	19	23	24	14	16
EXTERNAL												
Kwaybwaga	15		1	2	1	1			1	1		
Kabululа	2		1	1	1		3		1			
Kaulagu	1						2		3	3	1	
Obowada	4			1							3	
Kudokabilia	1		2							1		
Liluta	6									2		
Obwelia	3				1							
Osapola	1					1						
Wagaluma	1		1									
M'tawa	8											
Kaibola	3											
Diaghila	3											
Kapwani	2											
Yuwada	2											
Kaimwamwala	1											
Idaloaka	1											
Ilalima	1											
Okaiboma	1											
Labai	1											
Kabwaku			1		1				2	1		1
Geyobara				1					1			
Oiabbia			1	1								
Okaibobwe			2									
Luwagala			1									
Wakaisa									1			
Tukwaukwa										1		
Yalumugwa										1		
Gumilababa												1
?										1		
Total	57	3	10	6	4	2	4	-	9	11	4	2
Grand Totals	76	3	31	32	21	17	31	19	32	35	18	18

TABLE 10

Proportions of Internal and External Urigubu
(Chapter I, Part 2, Section 2c)

Urigubu presented	Chief		Other Householders		Combined	
	To	By	To	By	To	By
Within the village	8(10%)	3(100%)	73(55%)	68(56%)	81(38%)	71(57%)
Within the cluster	11(15%)	-	28(21%)	32(26%)	39(19%)	32(25.5%)
Outside the cluster	57(75%)	-	32(24%)	21(18%)	89(43%)	21(17.5%)
Totals:	76	3	133	121	209	124

(Note that the percentages given in the columns are of these totals.)

TABLE 11

Frequency of Adoptions - the Factor of Residence
(Chapter V, Section 2)

Relative to whom transf'd.	Kin Term used of, by Child	Changes of Residence involved: Within Vil. Cluster – Within Village		Within Vil. Cluster – Between Villages		Between Vil. Clusters – Into Om. Cluster		Between Vil. Clusters – From Om. Cluster		Totals	
		Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Subclan Kin											
MoMoBro	TABU..	1			1			3		4	1
MoMo	TABU..				3			8	3	8	6
MoElSi	INA..	1		1	4	2	4	2	5	6	13
MoYoSi	INA..		2		1	1	4	4	6	5	13
MoBro	KADA..			1		2	2	2	3	5	5
ElSi	TUWA..				1						1
ElBro	TUWA..							1		1	
Totals:		2	2	2	10	5	10	20	17	29	39
Totals and % by residence:		4(5.9)		12(17.6)		15(22.0)		37(54.5)		68(100.0)	
		16(23.5)				52(76.5)					
Affinal Kin											
FaElBro	TAMA..	4				1				5	
FaYoBro	TAMA..	1								1	
FaSiSon	TAMA..					1				1	
FaSi	TABU..	1		1		1		1		4	
MoFa	TABU..							1		1	
Totals:		6		1		3		2		12	
Mo Cowife	INA..	1								1	
Neighbour	TAMA..	1								1	
Benefactor	TAMA..					1				1	
Totals and % by residence		8(53.0)		1(7.0)		4(27.0)		2(13.0)		15(100.0)	
		9(60.0)				6(40.0)					

Totals: in Omarakana Cluster – Boys 81, adopted 22, or 27%
Girls 55, " 22, " 40%
Both 136, " 44, " 31%

Totals: all recorded children – Boys 104, adopted 44, or 42%
Girls 72, " 39, " 55%
Both 176, " 83, " 46%

83 children adopted in all: boys number 44, or 54%; girls 39, or 46%.

TABLE 12

Frequency of Adoption by Kinship Categories
(Chapter V, Section 2)

Categories	Boys		Girls		Both	
Subclan Kin	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
TABU..	12	27.0	7	18.0	19	23.0
INA..	11	25.0	26	67.0	37	44.0
KADA..	5	11.4	5	12.4	10	12.2
TUWA..	1	2.3	1	2.6	2	2.4
Totals:	29	65.7	39	100.0	68	81.6
Affinal Kin						
TAMA..	9	20.6			9	11.0
TABU..	5	11.4			5	6.2
INA..	1	2.3	—	——	1	1.2
Totals:	15	34.3			15	18.4
Grand Totals:	44	100.0	39	100.0	83	100.0

TABLE 13

URIGUBU presentations made by Omarakana Cluster Householders, analysed by Kinship Categories
(v. Chapter V, Section 2, and cf. Tables 7-10 and 14)

Recipient's relationship to Donor	Kinship terms used by Donor to Recipient and latter's wife		Presentations made in each Category	
	Husband	Wife	No.	%
a. Members of Donor's subclan				
MoBro	KADA	INA	5	4.0
MoSiDa	LUBOU	LUTA	9	7.2
MoMoSiDa	LUBOU	LUTA	4	3.1
Sister	LUBOU	LUTA	38	31.0
Sister (widow)		LUTA	1	0.85
ElBro	TUWA	TUWA	13	10.0
SiDa	YAWA	KADA	10	8.0
SiDaDa	YAWA	TABU	1	0.85
			81	65.0
b. Affines of Donor's subclan				
Father	TAMA	INA	19	15.35
FaSiSo	TAMA	INA	1	0.85
FaBroDa	LUBOU	LUTA	1	0.85
MoBroDa	YAWA	LATU	3	2.7
Daughter	YAWA	LATU	16	13.0
BroDa	YAWA	LATU	1	0.85
			41	33.6
"Benefactor" - the Mission Teacher at Omarakana gardens for two of his colleagues at Oiabbia who brought him up in the Mission			2	1.4
		Totals:	124	100.0

Notes: In the two right hand columns, No. refers to the number of presentations made in each category, and % is this number expressed as a percentage of the total presentations made.

TABLE 14

URIGUBU presentations received by Omarakana Cluster Householders, analysed by Kinship Categories
(Chapter V, Section 2, and cf. Tables 7-10 and 13)

Relationship of Donor to Recipients	From: Terms used of Donor by Recipients		By: Chief		By: Others		By: All	
	Husband	Wife	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
a. Wife's Subclan Kin								
WiMoMoBro	YAWA	TABU	4	5.0	2	1.75	6	3.0
WiMo	YAWA	INA			6	4.5	6	3.0
WiMoBro	YAWA	KADA	19	25.0	9	7.0	28	13.0
WiBro	LUBOU	LUTA	30	40.0	43	32.0	73	35.0
WiSon	LATU	LATU	5	6.5	20	15.0	25	12.0
WiSiSon	LATU	LATU	4	5.0	2	1.75	6	3.0
			62	81.5	82	62.0	144	69.0
b. Wife's Affinal Kin								
WiMoFa	YAWA	TABU			1	0.75	1	0.5
WiMoBroWi	YAWA	INA			2	1.75	2	1.0
WiFa	YAWA	TAMA	11	14.0	15	11.0	26	12.5
WiFaSiSon	YAWA	TAMA	1	1.5			1	0.5
WiEldSiHu	YAWA	TUWA	1	1.5			1	0.5
			13	17.0	18	13.5	31	15.0
c. Husband's Subclan Kin								
HuMoBro	KADA	YAWA			1	0.75	1	0.5
HuYoBro	BWADA	BWADA			15	11.0	15	7.0
HuSiSon	KADA	LATU			5	3.75	5	2.5
					21	15.5	21	10.0
d. Husband's Affinal Kin								
HuFa	TAMA	YAWA			1	0.75	1	0.5
HuMoBroSon	LATU	LATU	1	1.5	1	0.75	2	1.0
HuBroSon	LATU	LATU			10	7.5	10	4.5
			1	1.5	12	9.0	13	6.0
Totals:			76	100.0	133	100.0	209	100.0

Notes: The Kiriwinan terms given are those used by the adult members of the household receiving URIGUBU towards the persons presenting it.

In the three right-hand columns, the heading No. denotes the number of presentations made to the recipients in virtue of each relationship. The heading % refers to the number of presentations expressed as a percentage of the total number received, by the Chief, by others and by both combined. Thus in the Chief's column, 30, or 40%, of all the presentations he receives are from wives' brothers, etc.

TABLE 15

Ownership of Property
(Chapter V, Section 2)

Type of Property	Number of Householders With	%	Without	%	Average Amounts Owned No. of Owners	Items of Property	Average per Owner
Garden	45	62.0	28	38.0	33	225	7 plots
Coconut	68	93.0	5	7.0	57	530	10 palms
Areca	73	100.0	-	—	50	600	12 palms

Notes: Of the sample of 73, although it could be said in most cases whether property was owned, quantities could not be ascertained in the cases of headmen and their heirs or of men whose subclan's villages were distant. Such cases have not been included in calculating averages.

TABLE 16

Frequencies of Ownership of Garden Plots (BALEKO) in Omarakana Village Cluster
(Chapter V, Section 2)

Status of owners Residence of Owner	Member of an Owning Subclan in Omarakana Village Cluster				Stranger resident in villages of Omarakana Cluster		
	In Village of Own Subclan		Other Village of the Cluster				
Plots located in	Owner's Village	Other Vil. of Cluster	Owner's Village	Vil. of residence	Owner's Village	Vil. of residence	Totals
Number of Plots							
None	7		1			20	28
1 - 5	10	3	3		1	6	23
6 - 10			2		2		4
11 - 15			1				1
16 - 20	1						1
21 - 30	4		1				5
31 - 40	1						1
Unknown					5		5
Uncounted	4	—	—	—	1	—	5
Totals:	27	3	8	-	9	26	73

Notes: The sub-heading Owner's Village means the village of the subclan of the plot - owner.

TABLE 17

POKALA - Acquisition of Heritable Property
(Chapter V, Section 2)

From whom obtained	Kinship Term	Garden Plot A	B	C	Coco Palm A	B	C	Areca Palm A	B	C	Total
Own Subclan											
MoMoBro	TABU..	11			7			7	2		27
MoMo	TABU..					1			1		2
MoBro	KADA..	17		2	11	4		9	3	1	47
Mo	INA..	1			2	3		1	1		8
ElBro	TUWA..	6			4	5		4	5		24
YoBro	BWADA..				1	3			2		6
Si	LU..TA							1		1	2
"Kinsmen"	VEY..	6		—	4	1		—	—	—	11
Totals:		41		2	29	17		22	14	2	127
Affines											
FaMoBro	TAMA..		3			3			2		8
Fa	TAMA..	3	3			8			7	2	23
FaSi	TABU..									1	1
SiHu	LUBOU..									3	3
WiBro	LUBOU..		2		2						4
WiMo	YAWA..								1		1
Totals:		3	8		2	11		—	10	6	40
Combined Totals:		44	8	2	31	28		22	24	8	167
Other sources											
Chief or GUYAU or Headman TOLIVALU		3	2		1	1			1		8
For "Help" "PILASI"		—	1		3	1			1		6
Totals:		3	3		4	2			2		14
Planted by Owner:						9	3	18	35	8	73

Notes: A - in owner's subclan's village; B - in owner's village of residence; C - in other villages.
Figures obtained from 73 householders, of whom two were women; they had only palm trees which they had planted themselves.

Genealogy I Sheet 1

All recorded members of the LOBWAITA subclan, LUKUBA clan, are shown, to illustrate their spatial distribution, intermarriages, adoptions etc. The interrelations of members of other subclans are shown where convenient. If not otherwise apparent, subclan membership is indicated by writing names of subclans in brackets under names of members, both in sloping letters.

RESIDENCE:-
Villages are named in unbracketed upright letters under residents, or under marriages. Residence in one of the villages shown on Map 5 is indicated by the use of the initial letter of the village, i.e. O(marakana), K(asanai), Y(ogwabu), T(ilakaiwa) and the number of the household as on the Map.

ADOPTIONS:-
Indicated by e.g. " To MoBro " under personal name and over name of new place of residence.

DIVORCES:-
Indicated where known by -

Names of the dead are enclosed in brackets.
- - - subclan heads are underlined — once
- - - their successors designate — twice
- - - garden magicians — thrice

LOBWAITA S
Owners of TI

EMERGENT

(?)

(BOKWAYDOGA)

(BOMILA BOYOWA) (KABIYALUWATAITU) (BOKAIPWELA) (TOVIYAMAI)

(IBOYLOBU) MOTAIPU MOYOLA (OBUKULA) (KAULABAKU) D.1950 (TOMIYALA) (KARADAGULA TAUYA) (RORIMA) BENONI (WABABA) LAISOLA WAKAILUA MOTOSARI OSAYSUYA (BOUTUKEMA)

O. 20

MOKAIMWAU ULIWOKUVA MUKUNELA O. 17

BOTAOLI SIUTALA (OSISUPA) WAKAILUA

BWABWAU BOYLAWOSI (KARAYBIDA) O. 22

BOMLAINA MOKAIVAU (KAUOMA) T. 1

KAIVAGULI

YOBWIMA IOLIKU (ILOSIKULA) O. 18

(OVAGA)

IMILAWASI (OSISUPA) TOMANUM Y. 15

OMA RAK AN

GALAYGALA DABAGIMA (OSISUPA) WAKAILUA

ISOWAI SINAWARA (KASOWARI) YOLAWOTU

UGWASILA ≠ MOLIGILAGI

GUMILOBWAITA WAKAILUA

ILAKAIPOTA TAUMERU (WAIBITU)

To FaSis MOLIGILAGI

To MoMo O. 20

To MoElSis YOLAWOTU

ToMoElSis WAGALUMA

To Mo Yo Sis MOLIGILAGI

To MoElSis OBWERIA

(TOMAYA) BOGWALIKU

VANOI (TABALU) O. 2

ILUVAGAI

To MoYoSis KAULIKWAU

IBWALATA (d.infant)

(ILUMBEDOVA) (WABARI) T. 10

DAIBUNA T. 10

KADAWAYA KAIBOLA

GUMISAKAPU (SAKAPU) T. 14

KADUMIVU

MIOLAKU

YOLA W

TOULOGU T. 10

MAYARU (WAIBITU)

MWAWESI

To MoYoSis OBOWADA

To MoYoSis KAKUMIYA

BOMAKWASI

To MoElSis T. 5

To MoBro T. 15

VAT'ILUME SAGUYAU T.8

V. esp. Cap. II of text

Genealogy I Sheet 2

ILAOLABUMA Subclan
Owners of KUPWAKOPULA

CLAN MEMBERSHIP:-

Members of the LOBWAITA Subclan only -

Members of all other LUKUBA Subclans -

Members of all LUKWASISIGA Subclans -

Members of all MAILASI Subclans -

It happens that no members of the LUKULOBUTA Clan appear in either Genealogy, although some live in Omarakana Cluster. V. Table 3.

oclan
LAKAIWA

ANCESTORS

EMERGENT ANCESTORS

(MONAMERU) (IBINAKWA)

OKWAYDUYA) (MWAGWELI) (NASIBOWAI) (GALABU) (KAUOMA) (TILIEWA) (MOKAIVAU) (BOLIUTU) (MEBIKI)
OSISUPA)

KUPWAKOPULA

ATUWOLILA) (BOYLAGESI) (TOULOGU) (TONUPOI) D.1950 (BOMIGAETA) MIKALAI (MOLIGILAGI) ISIKWADEWA (IGABWAI) KWAYWATA (LAGAI)

OULUWA) (BOGWALIKU) (TOVAKETA) (KAUDAGAI) MONUMADOGA MWANEBU T. 2 IOLIKU (KAUOMA) TOULADOGA T.5 (KABITAM) TOPAREKU (ISUBAU) KAULAGU PULUWAYWO T. 15 NAPADOU MWAULI IMOKABWAKU ( ) BOPILILI KWAYWATA NAMWEDI OKAIBOMA
ABALU)
A
(KALOMI) YOLAWOTU
SIYAGA (KARAYBIDA) T. 9
YOLAWOTU
(-) (-) TOPAKAISA TEBEI (KARAYBIDA) T. 11
(KADUVAPOLU)
ORATAGUYAU KOVEAKA (SAKAPU) T. 7

KADUMIYU MITAKATA (TABALU) O. 7 VAMOREYA VIVARIA (OSISUPA) WAKAILUA BONAREI MWAWESI O. 19 ILEWEDAYA KWAYBWAGA GUMILABAI (OSISUPA) NAU LEMU WAKAILUA NOPWA KAULAGU IYONAI (KADULATILE)
(?) (-) a'ptd.
To MoYoSis KWAYBWAGA To FaBro GUMILABABA
Adopted

OKULUWEGU (KAUOMA) IALANA (OBOWADA) MOKAWOKALA DUBAMWANA (BWAYDAGA) TOMIYALA VADOGA DATABUNA (GAWAI) KABIYALUWA BANASI (OSISUPA) GIOVADALA KABWENAYA (TABALU)
OTU
T. 3 T. 4 YOLAWOTU O.24 T. 6
To MoEISis T.5
To MoEISis KAULAGU
IBWAIMA (MLABWAIMA) K.6 WAIBADI BOBILOLU To MoMoBro O. I BOKWEWAYA To MoEISis K.7

NAKARAYWATA OLIVILEVY DEWORI KWAYWATA DEIRA KWAYWATA MWAINADI (GAWAI) ITAVAU (ISALOLU) IDERUBA OKAIBOMA BOWERU OKAIBOMA TOMARA (GAWAI) IGABWAI MBALOTA (OBUKULA) KOGERISA DAGUA OKAI BOMA
YOLAWOTU Y. 13

TOGINIGINI ? To MoBro T. 7 To MoYoSis OKAIBOMA ? (-)

Genealogy II Sheet I.

TABALU Sub

All members of the Omarakana branches of the TABALU and BWAYDAGA Subclans are shown, to illustrate recurrent intermarriages between high-ranking Subclans. Their intermarriages with members of the LOBWAITA subclan are also shown for comparison with Genealogy I.

CLAN MEMBERSHIP:-

Members of the TABALU Subclan only -

Members of all other MAILASI Subclans -

Members of all LUKUBA Subclans -

Members of all LUKWASISIGA Subclans -

Legend otherwise as for Genealogy I.

BWAYDAGA or KWOYNAMA Subclan
Omarakana Section

(KULUVAIBU) (DOVANA)

(MWAKENUA)

(BOMAKATA)

(MWAKENUA) (MOKAILAGA) (GEUMWALA) (ISOPAPA) (PIRIBOMATU) (VIYOULO) (KWOYAVILA) (ISUPWANA) (NUMAKALA) (OTHER "SIBLINGS") (TOULUWA)

1 2 3

ILAKAPOVA OKOPUKOPU (GILUWATA) OSAPOLA (ILUBWAINAMA) (MELOI) (KILUGAWOLA (WAIBITU)) (MUWANA) (DIPAPA) (NATOWOSI) (KADAMWASILA)

4

BAGEBILA ISIBILA (ODUKAPATU) (—) GEUMWARA LOLUSA ILAMWERIA (OSISUPA) KABIINEMA (ODUKAPATU) MWAKENUA GUMADOGU -GUYAU (NAMWANA -GUYAU) KAILABU (?) YOBUWAU ISEPUNA (OBUKULA) KALOGUSA (GILAYVEAKA) (KENORIA)

O.26 O.25 O.27 O.8 OSAPOLA OSAPOLA

BANASI KABIYALUWA (LOBWAITA) MODUBALAI (KASOWARI) BWOYSABWOYSE NESAI GIOSEULA BOKALIGABU (WAIBITU) KAVANU GEYOBARA MOKAGAI To MoMoBro IALANA BOTABALU

O.24 YOLAWOTU O.22 O.27 O.28

O.23

BOMTARINA MTUKWAPWAPU (OSISUPA) (BOIDARA) (OBUKULA) YOWANA KADAYOBA (GUBUKULA) ISIBWAIMA KWAYBWAGA KADUMOROSI (WAIBITU) IAULABINA BONIGWALA (KAUOMA) TOBIGA BONUMAKALA IPULULA To FaYoBro PULU To Mo

T.12 O.32 O.29 O.30 O.29 O.

SUMAIGUYAU BOMLAODA MERARASI MOKAULAGA To MoMo OKOPUKOPU TOBWADIVAU To MoBro YOLAWOTU GUBILAKA To MoBro TILAKAIWA TAUMERU (LOBWAITA) In Fa House, 0.29 ILAKAPOTA To MoElSis WAGALUMA IABOTOVA KENORIA (—) d. infant TOPOI ≠ WAIBADI IBWAIMA (MLABWAIMA) BOBILOLU To MoMoBro

K.6 O.1

Genealogy II Sheet 2

Subclan

(MITILIGISA)

VA) (BOTABALU) ↑ Emergent Ancestors of LILIU Myth.

(?)

4) (PURAYASI) (BUGWABWAGA) (IBOUNA)

LOBWAITA - Genealogy V. I.

(BOYLAGESI) (TUKWAUKWA) (MORIBABEDA) (TOKOLIBEBA) (BOKWEWAYA) (MUKUMUKU) (GUBILAKUNA) (OBUKULA)

(BOYLAGESI) (IGABWAI)

(TOKULUBAKIKI) KWOIGU (OBUKULA) TOBUDUSAWA Constable of Omarana Bareki. DAWEYERA (KASOWARI)

Y. 11

IEWA

(KADUBULAMI)

1

(BOBILOLU) (BOUTUKEMA) (BOGWALIKU) (KABITAM) (UMOKABWAKU)

4) DIPAPA OSAPOLA

(BAGIDOU) (BOMAKATA) (NAKAKWASI) (KULUWAGA) (KERAMI) (TOVESEI)

betrothed 1951

MITAKATA

(IBOUNA) (WAIBADI) (KABILEKAYA)

KADUMIYU BOTAOLI

5

0.8

0.7

2

0.7

ALU (NUMAKALA) GIOVADALA (LOBWAITA) KABWENAYA (BOKWEWAYA) TOKUSEMWALA (MUKUNELA) LIBULABWA KADUBULAMI ILUVAGAI (OBUKULA) VANOI BOMAKATA

T. 7

0. 16

0.2

0.23

PULU WAYASI To Mo Mo Bro O. 1

BOLUVARA To Mo El Sis K. 7

TOULUWA To Fa El Bro O. 27

TAULISAGUYAU MOWAYOLA To Fa El Bro O. 27

(IBOUNA) d. child.

BODAMALIA PULUWAYWAGA MONAKEWO (TUDAVA) DABUGERA

K. 7

BOKWAYWAGA OREWARA BOSIBOGWA BUGWABWAGA KAUGINA (NAKAYKWASI) d. child. MTABALU NAMSAREWA To MoYoSis OLIVILEVI NAKAYKWASI BOKWEWAYA

F63382

Diagram 1: Social Structure; Conceptual System of Communication. (Chapter III, Section 1).

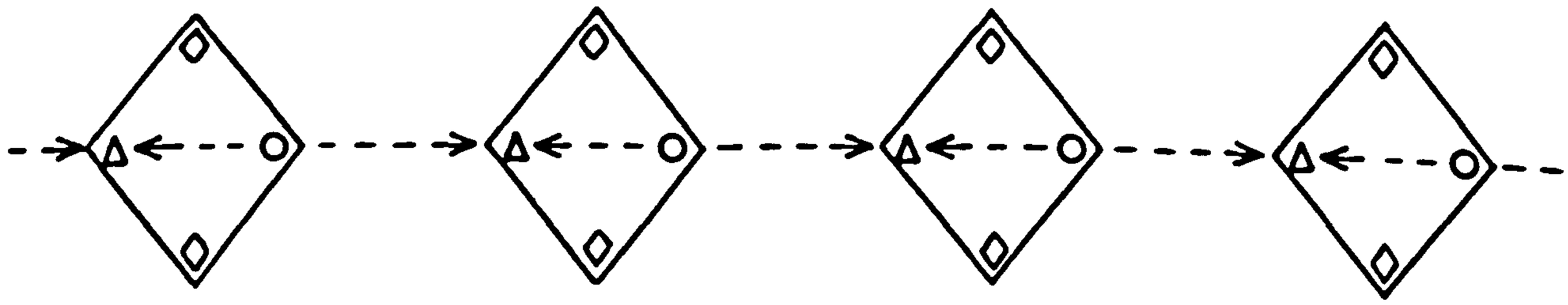


Diagram 2: Groupings of Sexes and Generations of Subclan into conceptual Units of Communication (Chapter III, Section 2).

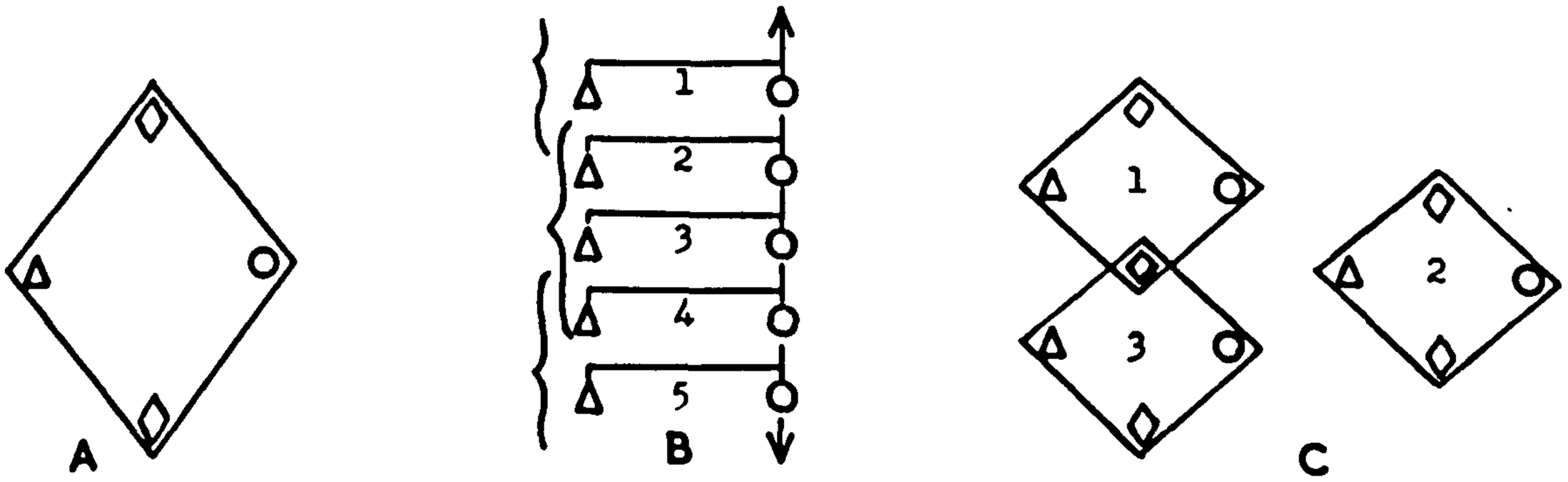
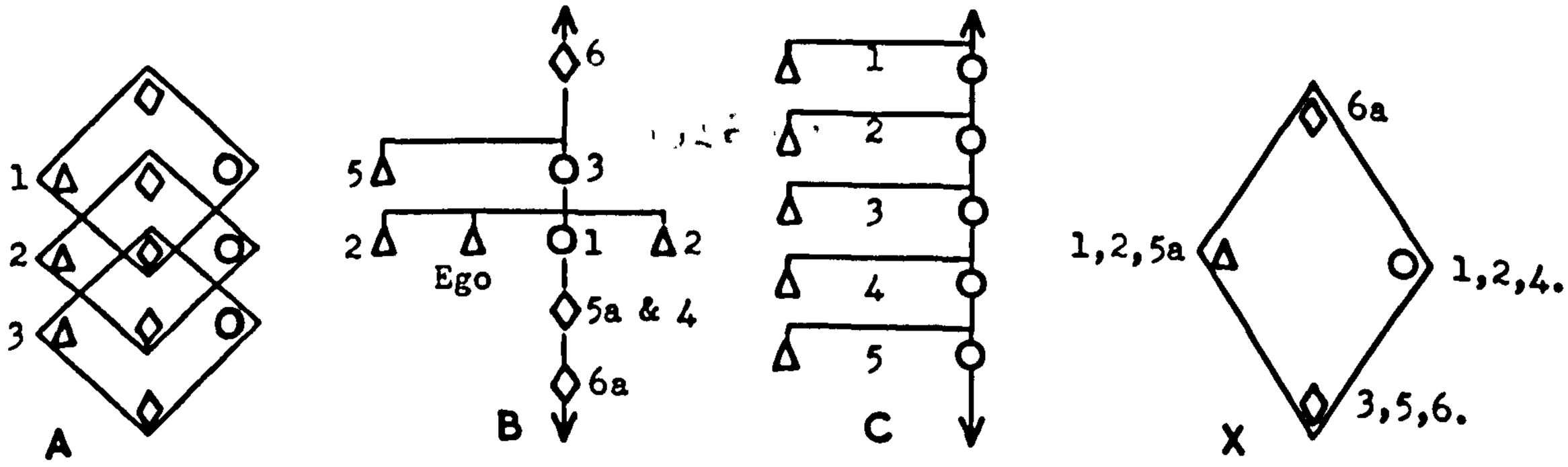


Diagram 3: Structural Explanation of the Usages of Subclan Kinship. (Chapter IV, Section 1).



Notes:- In Diagrams 1, 2A and C, and 3A, larger lozenges represent units of communication, each comprising an originative and a transmissive active mode symbolised respectively by Δ and O, and a latent and a quiescent passive mode represented respectively by the lower and the upper ◇ symbols.

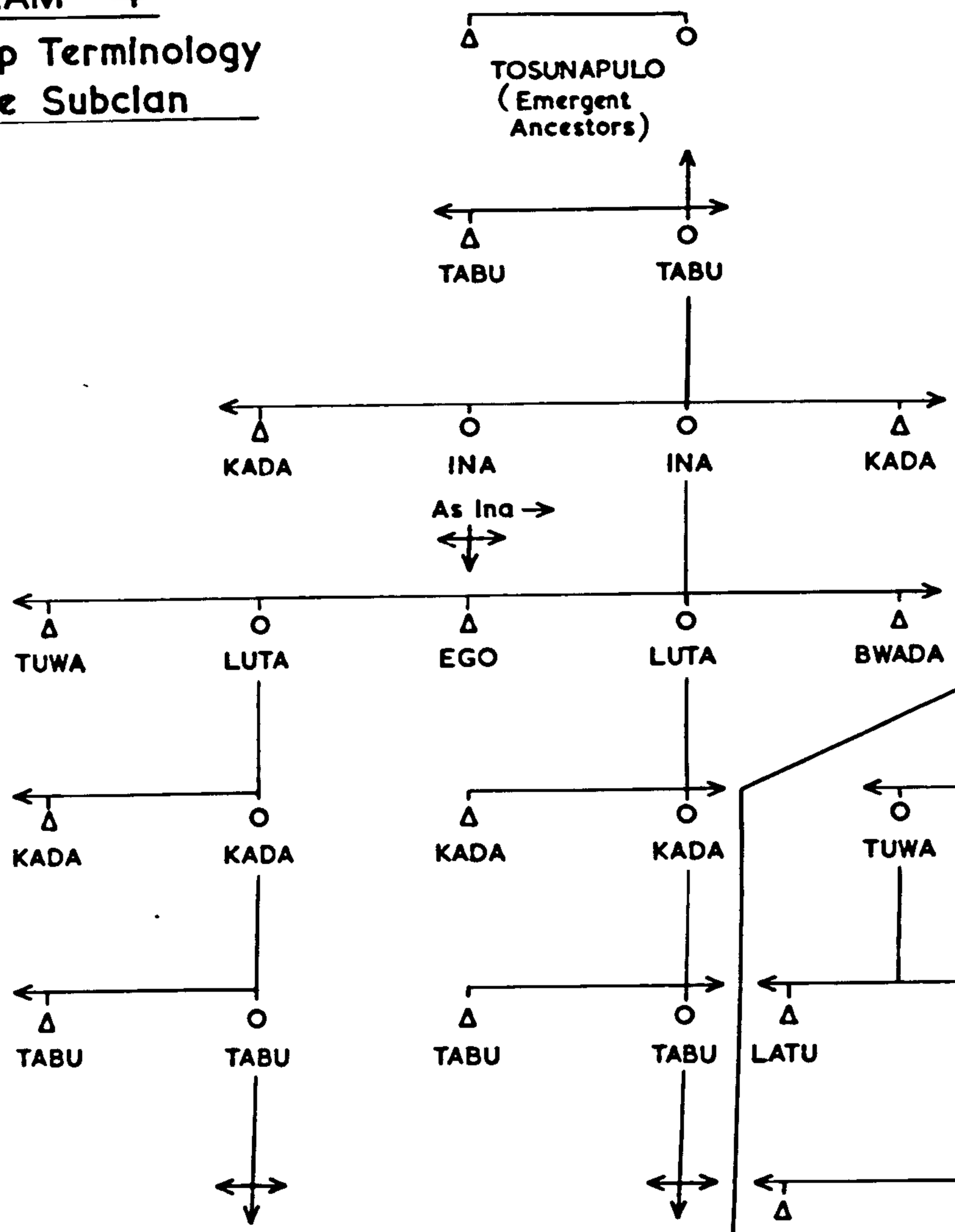
In Diagrams 2B and 3C, the Δ and O symbols represent all men and women respectively in each of five human generations of a subclan.

Diagram 2A represents the total unit of communication in reference to which the sexes and generations of 2B could be variously grouped in the external relations of the subclan; Diagrams 2C and 3A represent units of communication into which the sexes and generations could be variously grouped from Ego's viewpoint as a member of each sex in the different generations, while in Diagram 3B are represented the usages of subclan kinship as explained by applying 3A to 3C.

In Diagram 3X, the numbers by each mode of the unit of communication indicate the usages in 3B explained by equating Ego's status with each of the modes, according to Ego's sex and generation.

DIAGRAM 4

Kinship Terminology – the Subclan



Ego Male

Only Ego's subclan shown.
Arrows indicate that same terms apply to all others of the generation and preceding and succeeding generations.

Ego Female

All usages other than shown same as for Ego Δ

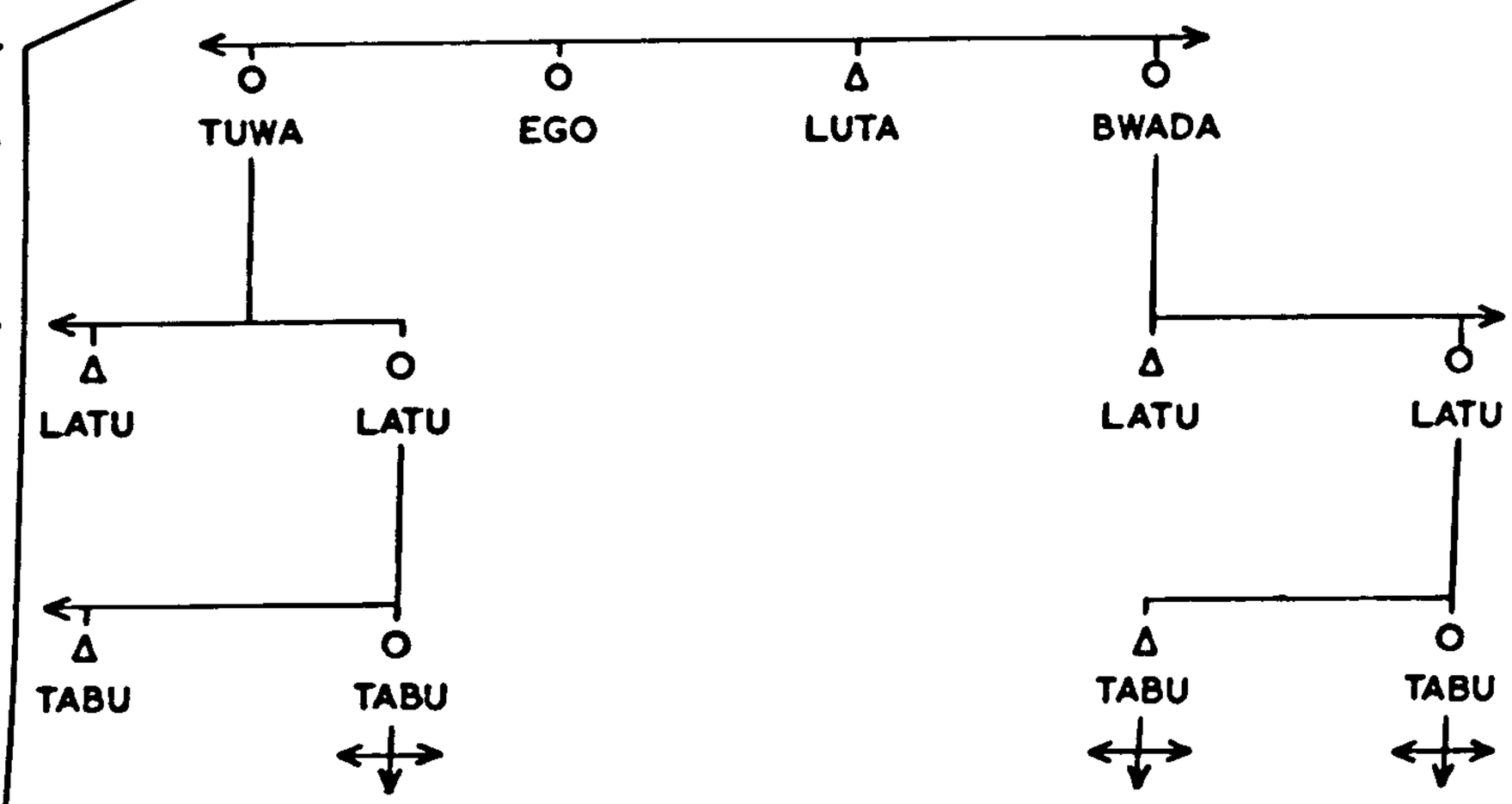
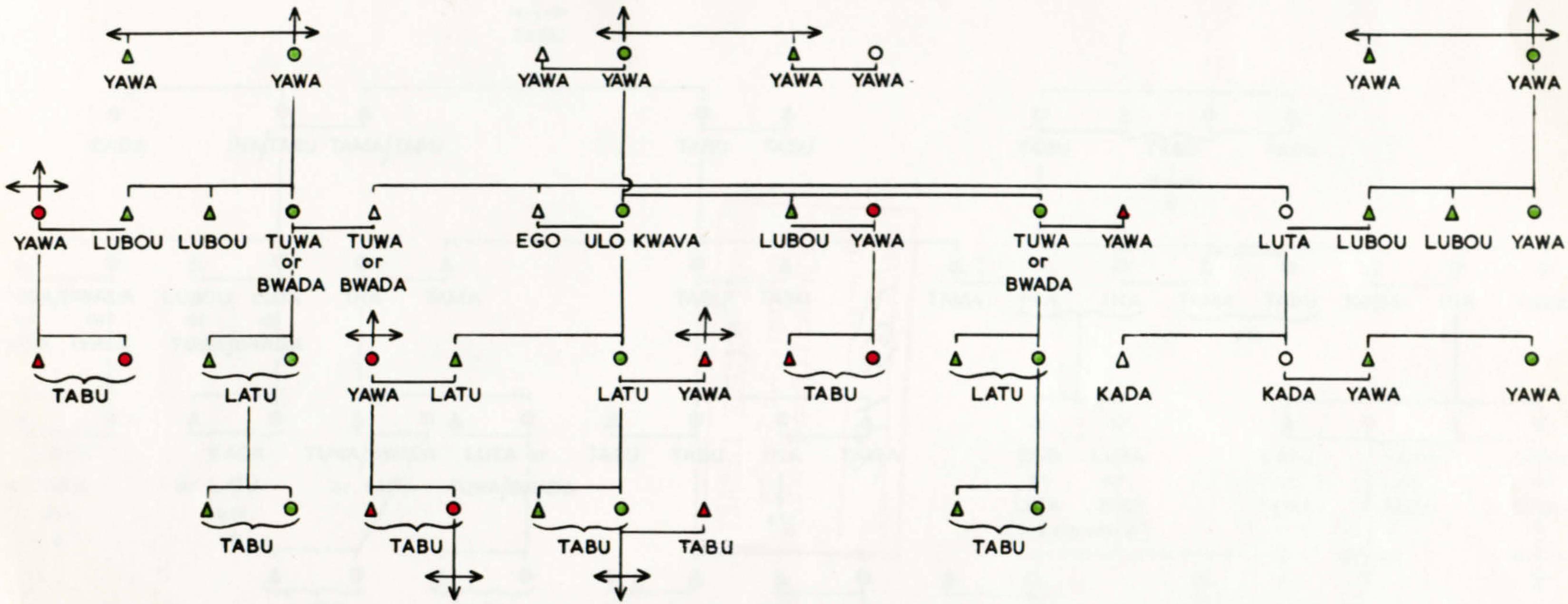


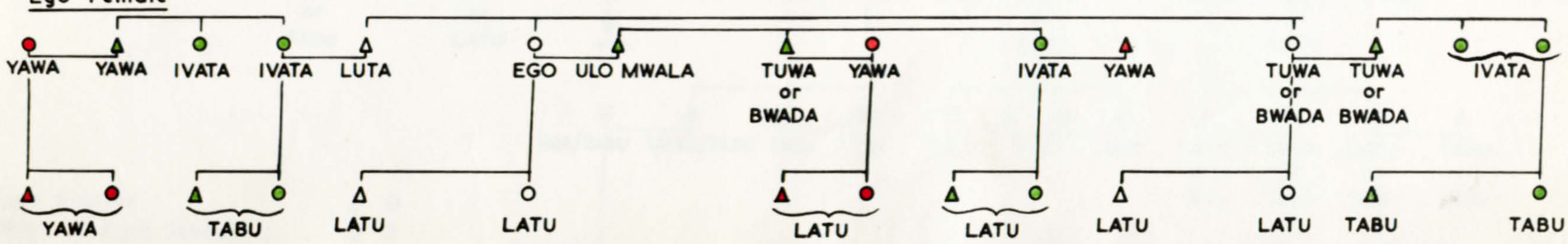
DIAGRAM 5 Affinal Terminology: Ego's generation.

Ego's Subclan △ ○
Affines of Ego's Subclan ▲ ●
Affines of Ego's Subclan's Affines ▲ ●

Ego Male



Ego Female



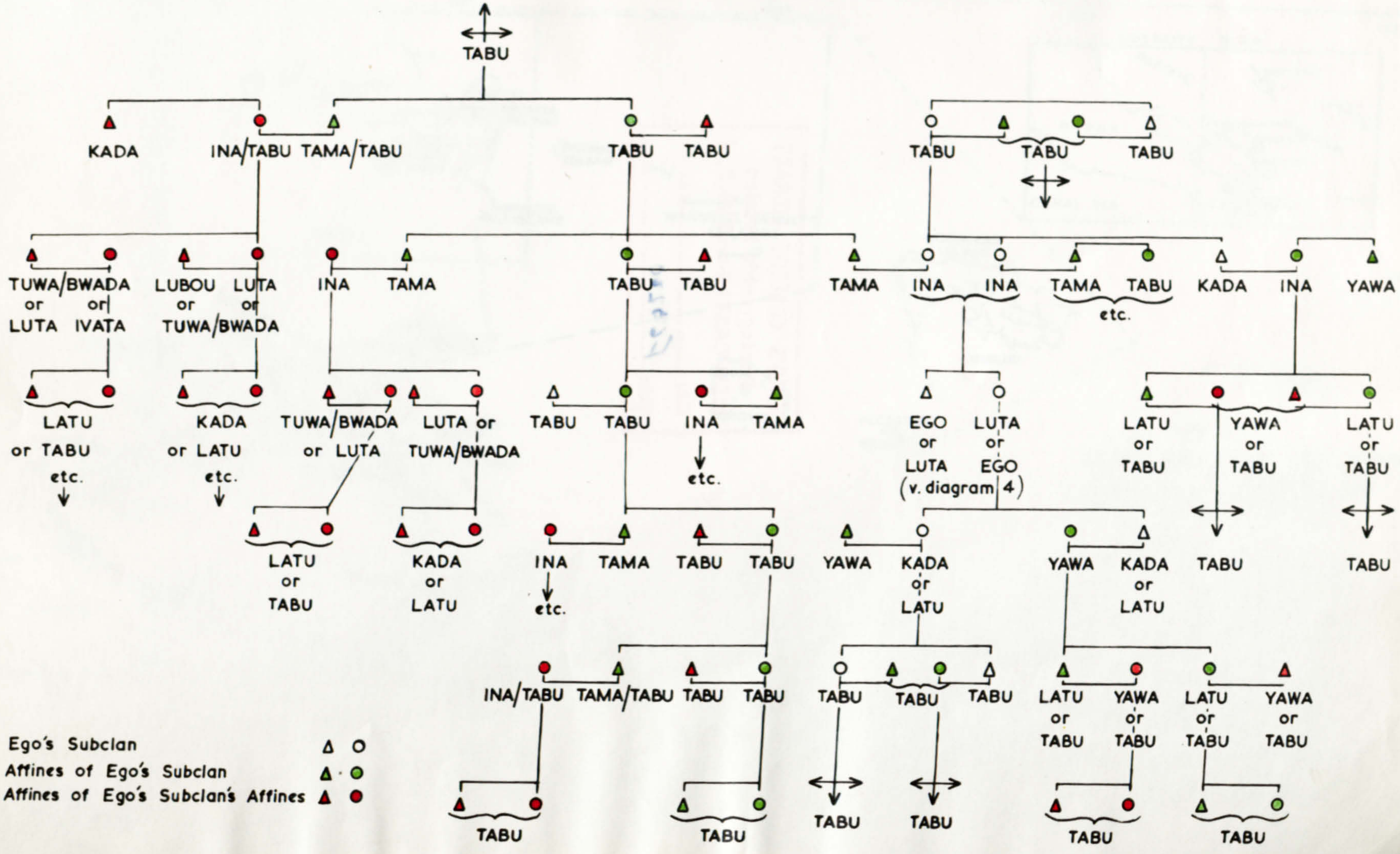
Other usages as Ego Male.

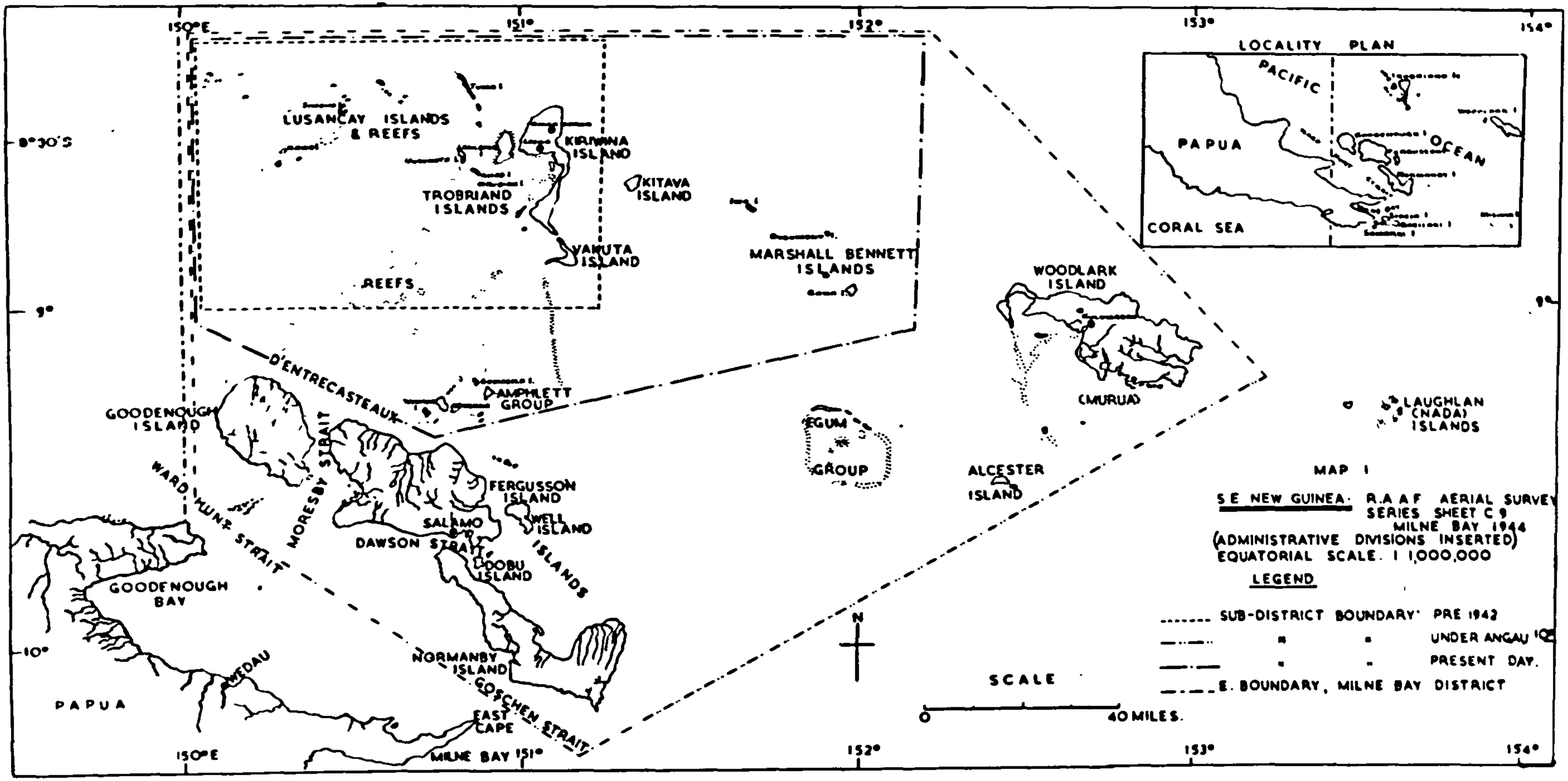
DIAGRAM 6

Affines of Ego's Subclan other than Ego's generation.

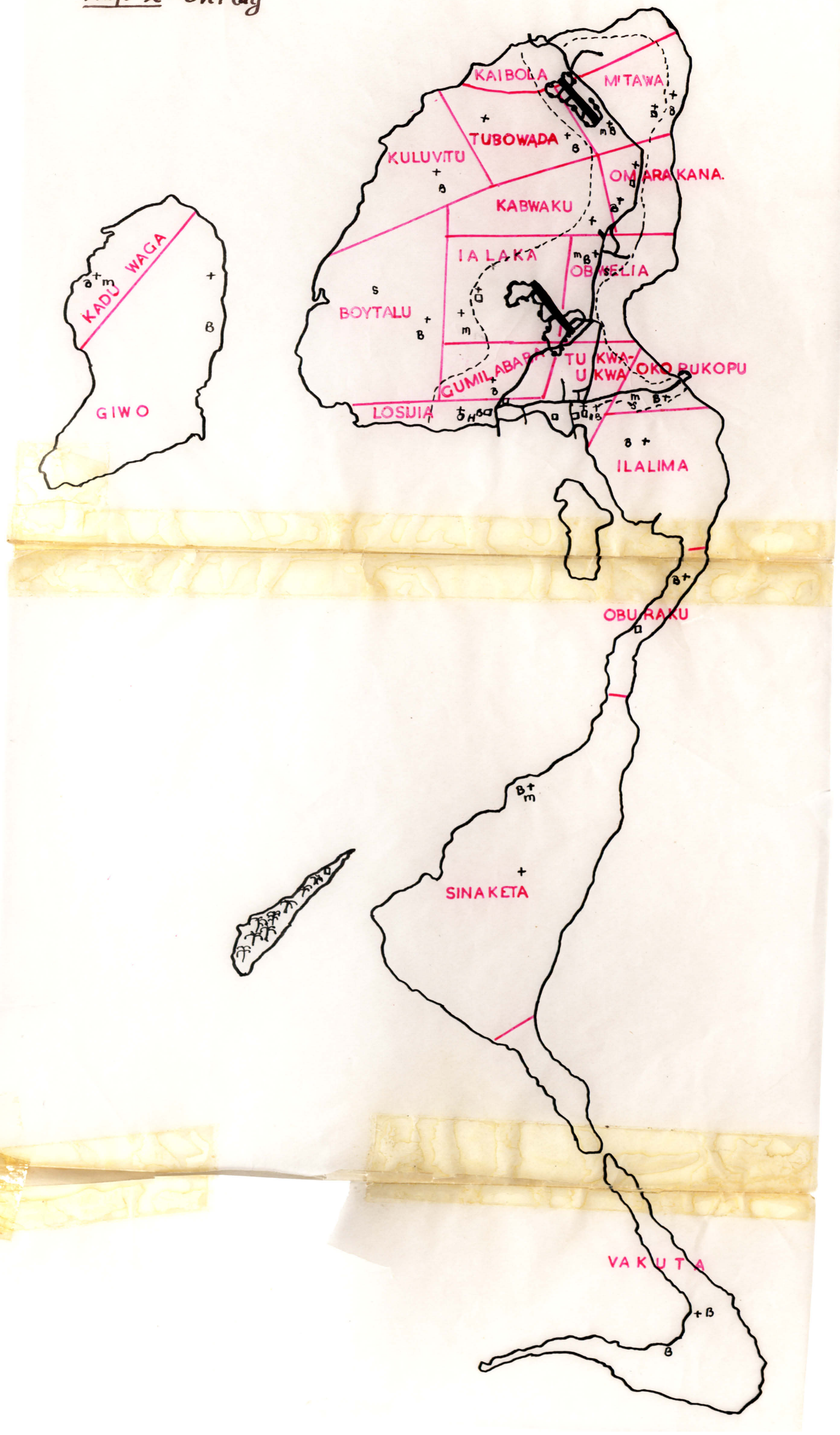
Where Two Terms are given one above the other as e.g. LATU or TABU, the upper is used by Ego △, the lower by Ego ○.

Where the Terms TAMA/TABU, INA/TABU are thus written, either may be used by Ego of either sex.




150°E
151°
152°
153°
154°
8°30'S
9°
10°
LUSANCAY ISLANDS & REEFS
KIRIWINA ISLAND
KITAVA ISLAND
TROBRIAND ISLANDS
VAKUTA ISLAND
REEFS
MARSHALL BENNETT ISLANDS
D'ENTRECASTEAUX
DAMPHLETT GROUP
GOODENOUGH ISLAND
WARD HUNT STRAIT
MORESBY STRAIT
FERGUSSON ISLAND
SALAMO
WELL ISLAND
DAWSON STRAIT
DOBU ISLAND
ISLANDS
GOODENOUGH BAY
NORMANBY ISLAND
GOSCHEN STRAIT
EAST CAPE
MILNE BAY
PAPUA
WOODLARK ISLAND
(MURUA)
EGUM
GROUP
ALCESTER ISLAND
LAUGHLAN (NADA) ISLANDS
N
SCALE
0
40 MILES.
LOCALITY PLAN
PACIFIC
OCEAN
PAPUA
CORAL SEA
MAP 1
S E NEW GUINEA: R.A.A.F AERIAL SURVEY SERIES SHEET C 9
MILNE BAY 1944
(ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS INSERTED)
EQUATORIAL SCALE. 1 1,000,000
LEGEND
SUB-DISTRICT BOUNDARY: PRE 1942
" " UNDER ANGAU
" " PRESENT DAY.
E. BOUNDARY, MILNE BAY DISTRICT

Map 2 - Overlay



MAP 3 NORTHERN KIRIWINA ISLAND

LEGEND

Swamp
Highground
Roads European – Motoring
Native – "Jeepable"
" – Walking only

Ranks of Owning Subclan of Villages
Tabalu
Gumguyau
Toliwaga
Commoner

European Residence Permanent ■
Occasional □
Methodist Mission M
Catholic " C
Administrative Officers G
Traders – Lumley L
– Hancock H
Anthropologist A

Villages of Wives of Touluwa – T (1 wife) T(2) (2 wives)
Mitakata – M
Both – T(2) M
Wailassie – W
All Three – TMW

Villages of Men Gardening for Chiefs
Mitakata of Omarakana – Wakailua 2 (Fig. = No of Plots Gardened)
Wailassie of Tubowada – Giligali } Toliwaga
Mitigilageila of Kabwaku – Mdogaivala }
Mobiligu of Tukwaukwa – Teyava }
Togobai of Mulasaida – Kavataria } Junior Tabalu
Utura of Gumilababa – Luya

Villages giving Betel Nut for Mitakata's Feast
(Each symbol denotes a supplier)

See Text
" "

District and Village Clusters as in Map 2.

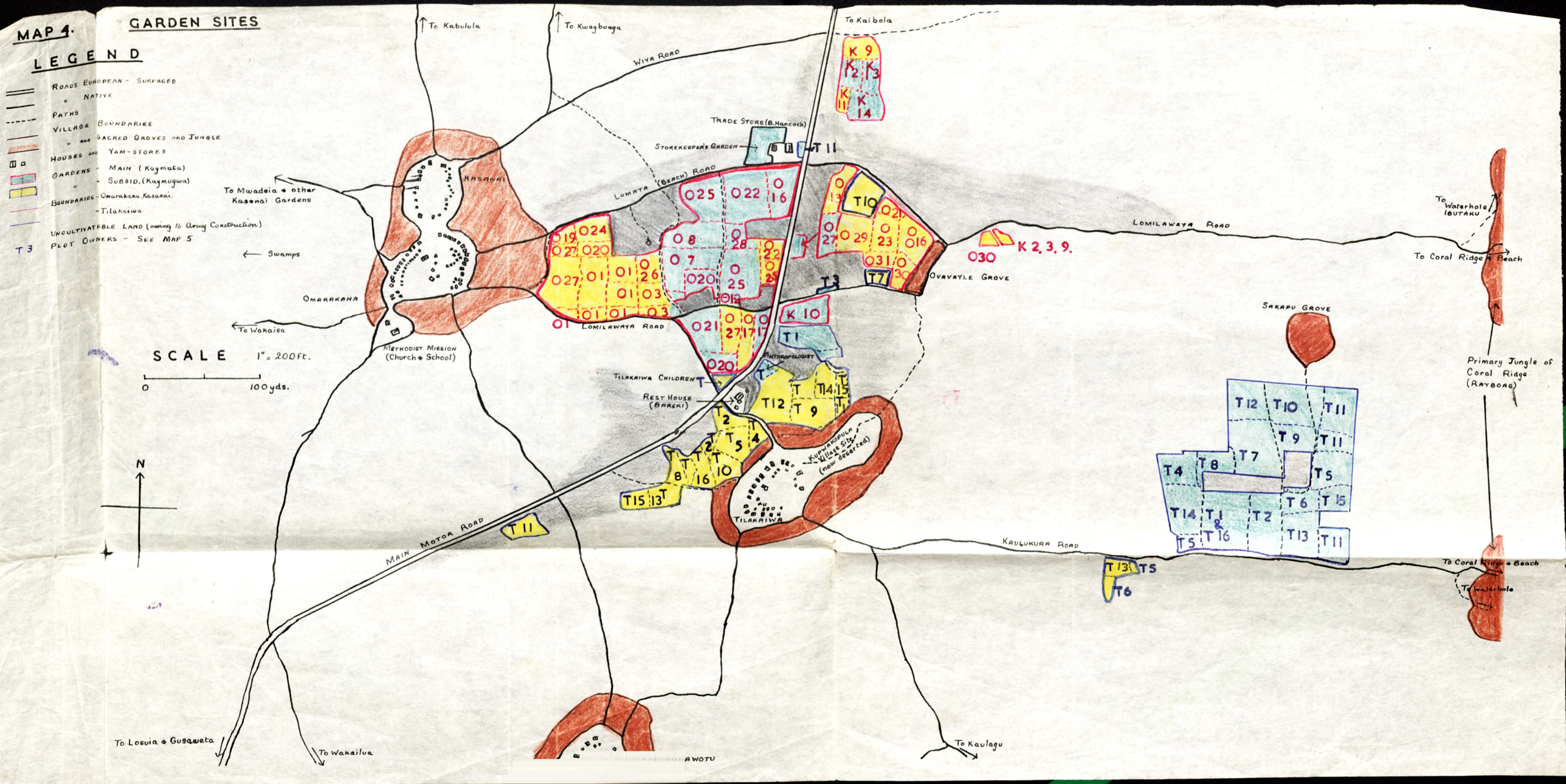
Trawler (S.E. Season only)
Trawler (N.W. or S.E. Seasons).
Anchorage & Flying Boat Landing.
Trawler (N.W. Season only)
Area covered in Map 4.

KIRIWINA
TILATAULA
KUBOMA
KULUMATA
LUBA

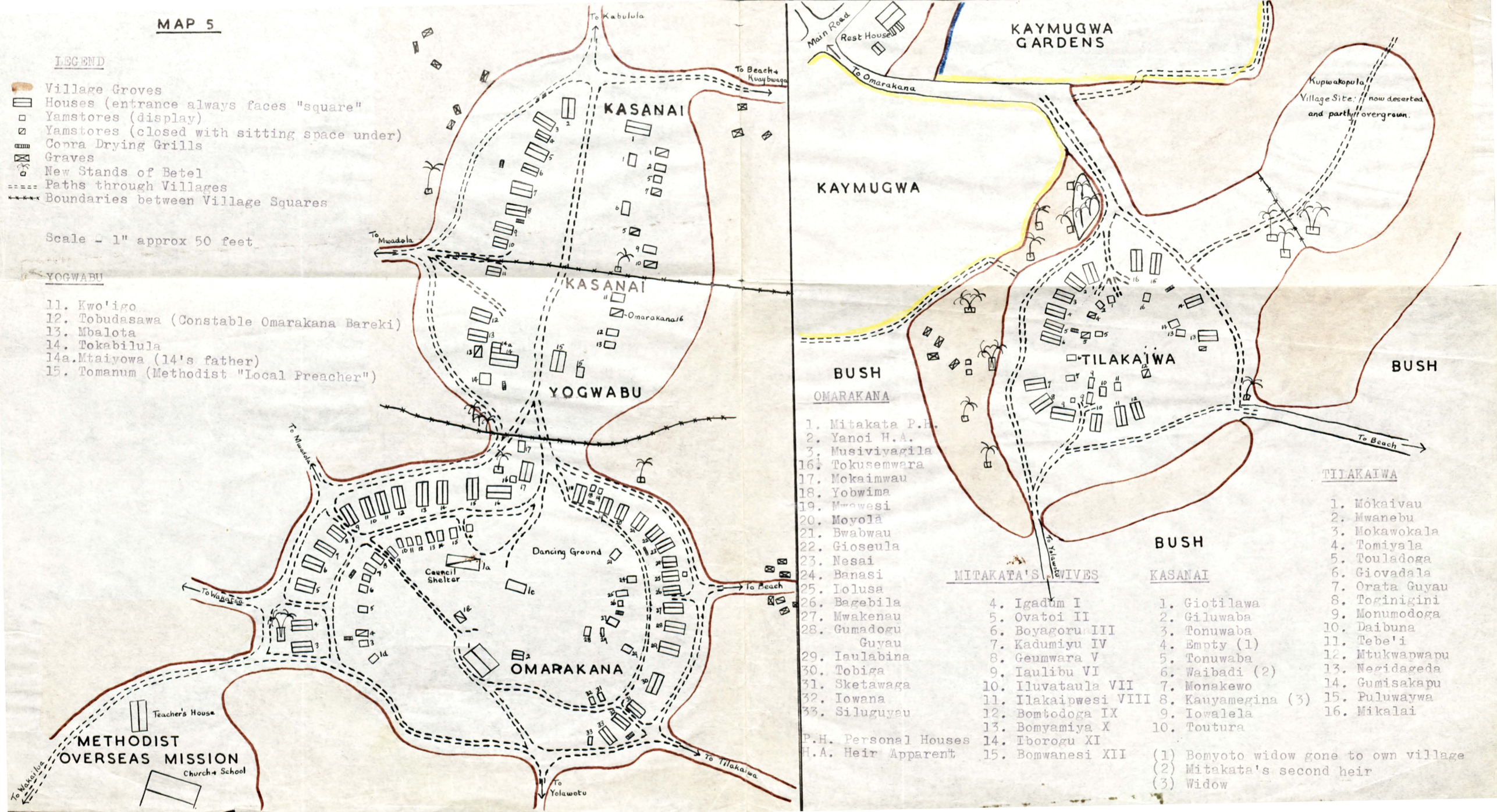
Kabwani 2 TM
Luebila W
Idaleaka T
Yuwada 2
Lokuia
Kaibola T(2)M
Labai
Air Strip No 1.
M'tawa 2 TM
Mwatawa
Kaimwamwa 1
Diabila 3 WM
Liluta TM 5
Osapola T(2)M
Kudokabilia
Boytayta W W
Tubowada
Kaulikwa
Kabululu M
Kwaygwaga T(2) 4
Giligali
Oiakiki W TM
Kuluvitu
Libutima
Ulomwa M H □
Kabwaku 2
Mwadoi
Wakaisa
1. Kubayakaiyeaka
2. Mugeeila
3. Kabwaku
4. Mdogaivala
Omarakana 6
Tilakawa TM 6
Oclawotu
Wakailua 2
Okaibobwa 1
Wagalumi
Obowada 2
Geyobara
Kaulagu 1
Okaiboda
Kulua
Obwelia TM 4
Kwaiwaiwata
Yalumugwa
Ialaka
Buduwaylaka
Air Strip No 2.
Oliesi
Lobua
Sivivabila
Luya
Boytalu
Wabutima
Moligaisi
Kuduwekela
Karwapu
Gumilababa
Osaysuya
Olivilevi
Okopukopu
Okaiboma T
Dyuyeyova
Tukwaukwa
Kapulapola
Lokwa CH
Gusaweta
Mulasaida
Kavataria
Hospital
Losuia
Administrative H.Q.
Tekava
Tlalinia T(2)
Osapola
Kaituyi
Kwaiola
Bulaku
Wawsla
H

N

SCALE
0 1 2 MILES


MAP 4.
GARDEN SITES
LEGEND
Roads European - Surfaced
" Native
Paths
Village Boundaries
" and Sacred Groves and Jungle
Houses and Yam-stores
Gardens - Main (Kaymata)
" - Subsid. (Kaymugwa)
Boundaries - Omarakana, Kasanai.
- Tilakaiwa
Uncultivatable land (owing to Army Construction)
Plot Owners - See Map 5
T 3
Swamps
SCALE 1" = 200Ft.
0
100 yds.
N
To Kabulula
To Kwaybuaga
To Kaibola
Wiya Road
Trade Store (B. Hancock)
Storekeeper's Garden
T 11
Lumata (Beach) Road
Kasanai
To Mwadoia & other Kasanai Gardens
Omarakana
To Wakaisa
Methodist Mission (Church & School)
Lomilawaya Road
Tilakaiwa Children
Rest House (Bareki)
Anthropologist
Kuiwanapula Village Site (now deserted)
Tilakaiwa
Main Motor Road
To Losuia & Gusaweta
To Wakailua
Awotu
To Kaulagu
Kaulukura Road
Ovavayle Grove
K 2, 3, 9.
Lomilawaya Road
To Waterhole Ibutaku
To Coral Ridge & Beach
Sakapu Grove
Primary Jungle of Coral Ridge (Raybong)
To Coral Ridge & Beach
To Waterhole

MAP 5


LEGEND
Village Groves
Houses (entrance always faces "square"
Yamstores (display)
Yamstores (closed with sitting space under)
Copra Drying Grills
Graves
New Stands of Betel
Paths through Villages
Boundaries between Village Squares
Scale - 1" approx 50 feet
YOGWABU
11. Kwo'igo
12. Tobudasawa (Constable Omarakana Bareki)
13. Mbalota
14. Tokabilula
14a. Mtaiyowa (14's father)
15. Tomanum (Methodist "Local Preacher")
To Kabulula
To Beach + Kwaybwaga
KASANAI
To Mwadola
KASANAI
Omarakana 16
YOGWABU
To Mwadola
To Wakaibu
Council Shelter
Dancing Ground
To Beach
OMARAKANA
Teacher's House
METHODIST OVERSEAS MISSION
Church + School
To Wakaibu
To Tilakaiwa
To Yolawotu
Main Road
Rest House
KAYMUGWA GARDENS
To Omarakana
Kupwakopula Village Site: now deserted and partly overgrown.
KAYMUGWA
TILAKAIWA
BUSH
BUSH
BUSH
To Beach
To Yolawotu
OMARAKANA
1. Mitakata P.H.
2. Yanoi H.A.
3. Musiviyagila
16. Tokusemwara
17. Mokaimwau
18. Yobwima
19. Mwawesi
20. Moyola
21. Bwabwau
22. Gioseula
23. Nesai
24. Banasi
25. Iolusa
26. Bagebila
27. Mwakenau
28. Gumadogu Guyau
29. Iaulabina
30. Tobiga
31. Sketawaga
32. Iowana
33. Siluguyau
P.H. Personal Houses
H.A. Heir Apparent
MITAKATA'S WIVES
4. Igadum I
5. Ovatoi II
6. Boyagoru III
7. Kadumiyu IV
8. Geumwara V
9. Iaulibu VI
10. Iluvataula VII
11. Ilakaipwesi VIII
12. Bomtodoga IX
13. Bomyamiya X
14. Iborogu XI
15. Bomwanesi XII
KASANAI
1. Giotilawa
2. Giluwaba
3. Tonuwaba
4. Empty (1)
5. Tonuwaba
6. Waibadi (2)
7. Monakewo
8. Kauyamegina (3)
9. Iowalela
10. Toutura
(1) Bomyoto widow gone to own village
(2) Mitakata's second heir
(3) Widow
TILAKAIWA
1. Mokaivau
2. Mwanebu
3. Mokawokala
4. Tomiyala
5. Touladoga
6. Giovadala
7. Orata Guyau
8. Toginigini
9. Monumodoga
10. Daibuna
11. Tebe'i
12. Mtukwapwapu
13. Negidageda
14. Gumisakapu
15. Puluwaywa
16. Mikalai